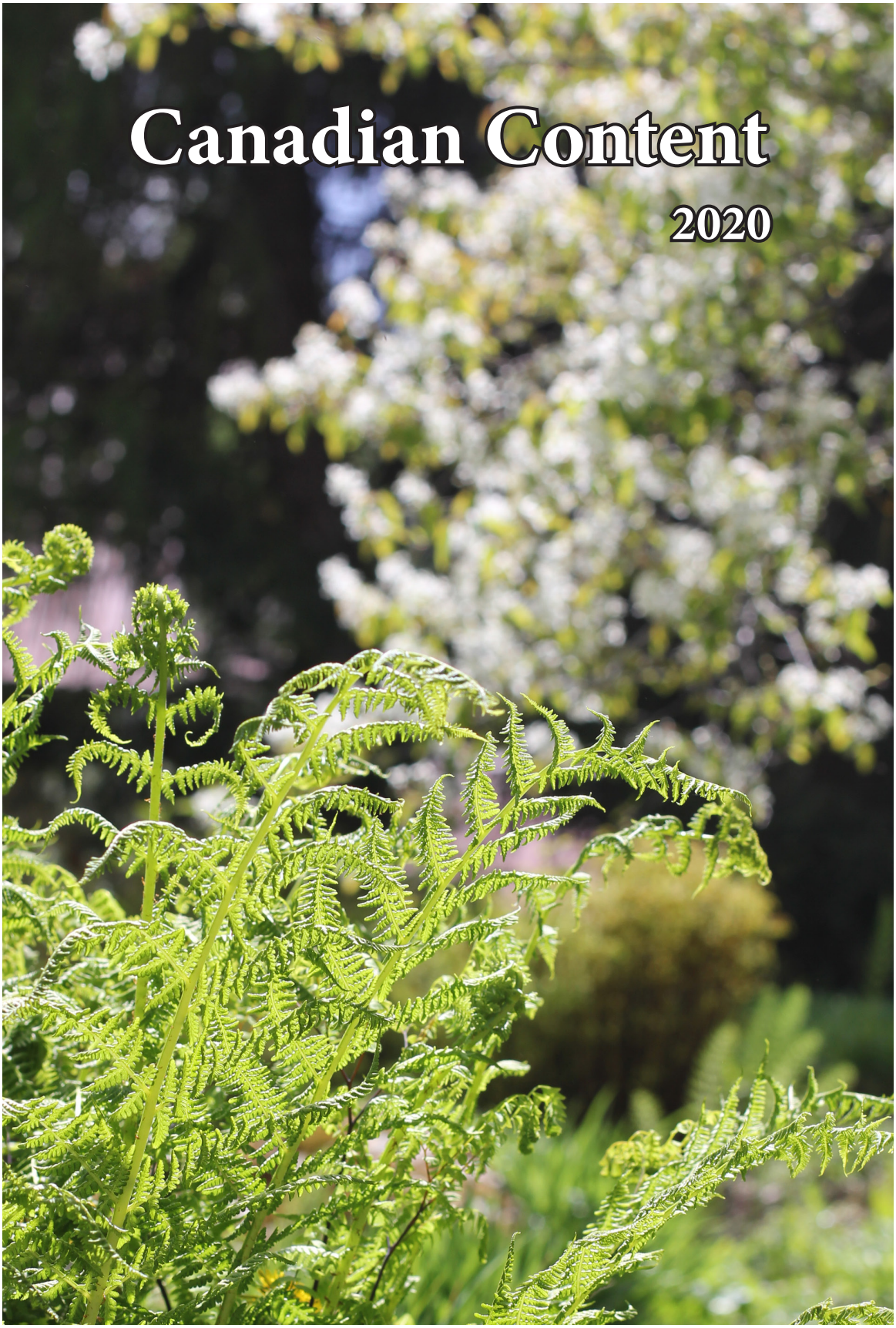
McGill Undergraduate Journal of Canadian Studies

ISSN 2369-8373 (Print)
ISSN 2369-8381 (Web)

Volume 12

Canadian Content

2020



Canadian Content

The McGill Undergraduate Journal of Canadian Studies

Volume 12, 2020

McGill Institute for the Study of Canada
Rm 102, Ferrier Building
840 Avenue Docteur-Penfield
Montreal, Québec
H3A 1A4

ISSN 2369-8373 (Print)
ISSN 2369-8381 (Web)

Printed in Montreal, Canada

Canadian Content is generously supported by:

Arts Undergraduate Society of McGill

McGill Institute for the Study of Canada
L'Institut d'études canadiennes de McGill

Cover Photography: "Spring Day" by Arimbi and Dewi Wahono.

Contents

Land Acknowledgment

The Canadian Studies Association of Undergraduate Students would like to thank Lucy Everett for letting us borrow, adapt, and condense the following land acknowledgement originally written for the panel discussion held by Climate Justice Action McGill (CJAM) on March 10th, 2020, as a part of a conference put on by Québec Public Interest Research Group at McGill-Concordia.

The Canadian Studies Association of Undergraduate Students (CSAUS) recognizes that McGill University is located on unceded Anishinaabeg and Kanien'kehá:ka territory. The Kanien'keha:ka or Mohawk Nation are considered the stewards of the lands and waters on which we gather, although Tiohtià:ke, colonially known as Montréal, has historically been a gathering place for many First Nations. The Kanien'keha:ka are the Easternmost Nation of the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois Confederacy, and are known as the Keepers of the Eastern Door.

Most of the land that makes up Canada, including Tiohtià:ke, is unceded land. This means that Aboriginal Title has neither been surrendered nor acquired by the Crown – the Canadian Crown doesn't own the land outright as the term suggests, because they never acquired legal jurisdiction, despite the Canadian Crown claiming jurisdiction over 89% of the surface area of this country. The plight of Indigenous peoples within Canada is a direct result of the occupation and seizure of their land and resources, which has ultimately confined Indigenous peoples to only 0.2% of their traditional territory.

The colonial project has inflicted devastating violence on both the land and the bodies of Indigenous peoples in its insatiable quest for resources and profit, and one cannot end without the other. CSAUS recognizes that this, or any, land acknowledgement cannot be a substitute for further action and work towards dismantling the systems of colonial oppression and exploitation that we live under. We must always remind ourselves of the historical injustice that makes our gathering at McGill University and elsewhere in this country possible. We must strive to redress the injustices that continue to pervade our society and culture.

CSAUS asks you, as settlers, not to apologize for the actions of our ancestors, but rather, to acknowledge that we benefit from their legacies and to work to destroy the systems of oppression and exploitation that their legacy created. This is not about guilt or apologies - the Indigenous people of today know that you are not responsible for your ancestors actions. This is about recognition of the fact that we, as settlers, nevertheless benefit from our ancestors' actions at the expense of the rightful Indigenous stewards of this land. This is about humility and solidarity. This is about living in good relation with the many vibrant Indigenous communities that continue to exist, heal, resist, and thrive despite centuries of colonial violence.

Indigenous solidarity is in everyone's best interests, not limited to Indigenous people and future generations. No one is free until we all are. We, as a society, must confront the colonial legacy of Canada, not as something that happened in the past, but as something with violent repercussions that we still live under to this day.

Notes on Contributors

Megan Coulter is a U2 Honours History student with minors in Indigenous Studies and Canadian Studies. Her research deconstructs the Canadian national narratives that uphold her Loyalist heritage. She intends to problematize the founding of Belleville, Ontario by interpreting her family's history for her thesis.

Lucy Everett is a fourth year student in Honours Environment and Development studies with a minor in Urban Systems at McGill University. Raised on Coast Salish territory outside of Vancouver before coming to Tio'tia:ke (Montréal) in 2016 for university, she is a member of the Métis Nation of British Columbia with ancestral roots in Red River. As an activist-scholar, her research attempts to highlight the systemic interrelationship between the climate crisis and colonial capitalism, demonstrating the need to fight for Indigenous sovereignty and the autonomy of the subaltern (in the Gramscian sense) in a warming world. She is also a member of Climate Justice Action McGill (CJAM), a non-hierarchical student activist group at McGill, founded on anti-oppressive principles of anti-racism, anti-colonialism, anti-capitalism, intersectional feminism, and social justice, that uses non-violent direct action to demand climate action and systemic institutional change from the McGill administration and Canadian governments.

Sarah Ford is a U2 Cultural Studies student, minoring in Art History and Communication Studies. She is passionate about wildlife photography and capturing Canada's impressive abundance of creatures. Her work has been featured by the Redpath Museum, the McGill Visual Arts Society, and COSEWIC, as well as through her position as Multimedia Editor for *The McGill Tribune*. Through her images and activism, she aims to create empathy for animals, and to allow people to appreciate the wildlife with which we share our environments.

Tessa Groszman is a U2 History student at McGill University. She is particularly interested in looking at contemporary culture through the lens of history, and she enjoys watching movies and working out. Born and raised in Montreal, she is fascinated by the past of this city that she will always call home. It is in this context that she decided to focus her work included in this journal on the eighteen-year mayor of her favourite Canadian city.

Francis L. is pursuing a U3 Honours Political Science degree with a minor in Canadian studies at McGill. A recent immigrant from South Korea, they aspire to follow their own Canadian dream and chart their own destiny in a place that can accept them for who they truly are. Their commitment to being true to themself led them to specialize in Canadian politics. Their research interest is the growing role of visible minority immigrants in the country's political system, and they hope that what they learn will not go to waste as they dedicate their life to help future generations of immigrants find their future here.

Elisabeth Levin is in her final semester at McGill University, studying Industrial and Labour Relations and Sociology. She is interested in the rights of labour unions in Canada, as well international human resource management. She greatly enjoys writing, and her written work has been published in various undergraduate journals at McGill. In her spare time, she loves taking photographs of nature and architecture. She is overjoyed that this is her first published artistic work!

Caitlin Mehrotra is a U3 Pharmacology student with a minor in French Language and Literature. Caitlin hopes to one day marry her interests and research in science and systemic social injustices by pursuing a career in public health. Other than that, Caitlin does not have concrete future plans or general aspirations but does have a great personality.

Olivia Ramos is a fourth year student, double-majoring in English Literature and Anthropology with a minor in Canadian Studies. She was born and raised in New Westminster, British Columbia and played four seasons on the McGill Martlets Hockey Team as a forward. After graduation, Olivia intends on attending law school to pursue her interests in criminal law.

Eva Oakes, originally from Colorado, USA, is finishing up at McGill this year. She loves to capture everything that makes Montréal special on camera. Eva has been "forcibly" removed from her favourite city, the city where life in fact began. She hopes one day to return, but for now the lady in the parc awaits her across the northern border.

Karolina Roman is a recent graduate of McGill's French Language and Literature department. She holds an honours major in Translation, a minor in Environment, but has also dabbled in Mathematics, and has been studying Russian and Polish. She will be starting her masters in Translation Studies in September of 2020. Her research interests include translation between languages of different relative cultural power and minority literature in Canada. Her contribution to this issue was written following an internship at Shoreline Press, an Anglo-Québécois publishing house.

Arimbi Wahono and her sister **Dewi Wahono** both live in Whistler, BC, where they collaborated in taking photographs for the journal. Arimbi is a U2 student pursuing a Joint Honours Political Science and International Development Studies degree, and her sister hopes to join the McGill community in Fall 2021 for the same program.

How Canada Responds to Global Crises: Comparative Social Policy Lessons from the Past for the COVID-19 Era,[1] a Foreword

Daniel Béland

Daniel Béland is the Director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada and James McGill Professor in the Department of Political Science at McGill University. *The author would like to thank Michael Prince and Alex Waddan for their comments.*

The ongoing COVID-19 global crisis has major implications for social policy, in Canada and elsewhere around the world, where many countries have already enacted massive social policy packages to help workers and families stay afloat during this unprecedented public health crisis, which is already having a dramatic impact on the economy and unemployment numbers.[2] In Canada, early social policy response to COVID-19 is embedded in the COVID-19 *Emergency Response Act* adopted on March 25. From a social policy standpoint, the Canada Emergency Response Benefit is the centerpiece of this bold legislation. This temporary program provides "a taxable benefit of $2,000 a month for up to 4 months to support workers who lose their income as of result of the COVID-19 pandemic."[3] Other key social policy measures featured in the COVID-19 *Emergency Response Act* include a temporary increase of Canada Child Benefit payments, "a special top-up payment under the Goods and Services Tax (GST) credit," "a pause on the repayments of Canada Student Loans," and "a COVID-19 Response Fund that would provide one-time funding of $500 million through the Canada Health Transfer."[4] On March 27, Trudeau also announced "a 75 per cent wage subsidy for qualifying businesses, for up to 3 months, retroactive to March 15, 2020. This will help businesses to keep and return workers to the payroll."[5] Like the temporary social policy measures enacted in other countries to support those affected by the economic downturn created by the COVID-19 crisis, this early policy response is grounded in Keynesianism, an approach that supports deficit spending to reduce the scope, and the negative impact, of massive layoffs on the economy.

Beyond the clear similarities in the national responses to the current crisis rooted in Keynesianism, each country responds to this ongoing situation differently for a number of reasons, including their fiscal capacity, the degree to which the crisis is affecting them, the nature of their political institutions (e.g. federal versus unitary states), and their existing policy legacies (i.e. the social policies already in place when the crisis began). In the case of the recent federal response, for example, it is likely that the Canada Emergency Response Benefit was enacted in part because Canada's Employment Insurance (EI) is a rather ungenerous program by

international (OECD) standards. While other countries that offered more comprehensive unemployment insurance before the COVID-19 crisis decided to expand them, the federal government decided to create a new, temporary program to exist alongside our deeply flawed EI program.

While it is relatively easy to explain why some countries react differently than others to a new crisis, it is much harder to anticipate whether this crisis will lead to durable policy change beyond the temporary measures enacted towards the beginning of it. Yet, historical and comparative analysis can help us better understand the conditions under which global crisis can lead to durable policy legacies in specific countries and policy areas. We can use historical examples from Canada and the United States to assess the condition under which large-scale economic and social crises can lead to durable policy change.

In Canada and the United States, the social protection provided to the unemployed at the beginning of the post-1929 Great Depression was limited in nature and provinces/states, just like municipalities and private charities, struggled to help the poor due to their limited fiscal and administrative capacity. In these two countries, over time the federal government got involved more directly, first with temporary programs like unemployment camps and public works and, later on, with permanent measures like unemployment insurance and, in the United States, old-age insurance, which is known today as Social Security. In the case of Canada, however, the federal unemployment program enacted in 1935 was deemed unconstitutional two years later, which lead to constitutional negotiations with Ottawa and the provinces that delayed implementation until 1941, after the end of the Great Depression.

In Canada and the United States, the Great Recession that began after the 2008 financial crisis was shorter than the Great Depression and it occurred in a different context from the 1930s, as major social programs already existed in these two countries to support people in times of crisis. Yet, temporary measures were enacted in both countries to offer additional support to the unemployed, a situation that did not prevent many of them from falling between the cracks of flawed and limited safety nets for the unemployed.[6] At the same time, although it proved shorter than the Great Depression, the Great Recession created favorable conditions for the enactment of durable and meaningful social policy reforms in both countries.

First, in the United States, the Great Recession further increased the number of people uninsured for medical care costs, which helped legitimize the enactment of Obamacare in 2010, despite calls from Republicans to postpone health reform until the return to economic prosperity.[7] Second, in Canada, the Great Recession provided political ammunition to the New Democratic Party (NDP) and labour unions to advocate expansion of the Canada Pension Plan (CPP), something they had been advocating for some years. Although Conservatives under Stephen Harper refused to act, both the Liberals and the NDP included CPP expansion in their 2015 electoral platform and the Trudeau government reached a deal with the provinces over a relatively modest expansion of CPP.[8]

As we face an unprecedented interrelated health and economic crisis with COVID-19, past crises can offer us lessons on how they might create the conditions for durable social policy change, beyond the temporary measures enacted in the name of Keynesianism. One key factor to explain whether durable social policy will emerge from a crisis is its sheer duration, as longer crises are more likely to lead to durable and deeper social policy changes, something the example of the Great Depression illustrates perfectly. Another factor is the institutional features of the country as it enters the crisis, combined with potential partisan shifts such as the election of FDR in 1932, the election of Obama in 2008, or even the advent of the Trudeau in late 2015. This last example as it relates to CPP reform suggests once again that crises can set into motion political processes that have an impact on social policy reform long after the crisis itself is over. The example of the delayed creation of unemployment insurance in Canada in 1941 also supports this claim.

When we want to understand why countries react to the ongoing COVID-19 crisis differently and how this crisis might lead to durable policy change here in Canada, historical and comparative policy analysis help identify key factors we can monitor systematically, looking forward. Historical and comparative analysis helps us in Canada understand what is both unique and common about our present condition, a reality that allows us to pause and reflect on the past while navigating an uncertain future. Studying Canada from a historical and comparative perspective is more important than ever, something the readers and contributors of Canadian Content should keep in mind as they explore the past, present, and future of our country in the post-COVID-19 era.[9]

Notes:

1. This is the revised version of a text first published by the Max Bell School of Public Policy: https://www.mcgill.ca/maxbellschool/article/how-different-countries-respond-global-crises-social-policy-lessons-past
2. "COVID Action Map," OECD, last updated on June 16, 2020, https://oecd.github.io/OECD-covid-action-map/
3. "The COVID-19 Emergency Response Act Receives Royal Assent," Government of Canada, March 25, 2020, https://www.canada.ca/en/department-finance/news/2020/03/the-covid-19-emergency-response-act-receives-royal-assent0.html
4. *Ibid.*
5. "Prime Minister announces support for small businesses facing impacts of COVID-19," Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, March 27, 2020, https://pm.gc.ca/en/news/news-releases/2020/03/27/prime-minister-announces-support-small-businesses-facing-impacts
6. James J. Rice and Michael J. Prince, *Changing Politics of Canadian Social Policy (*second edition*)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).
7. Daniel Béland and Alex Waddan, "The Obama Presidency and Health Insurance Reform: Assessing Continuity and Change," *Social Policy & Society* 11 no.3 (2012): 319-330.
8. Daniel Béland and R. Kent Weaver, "Fork in the road for Canada and Quebec pension plans," *Policy Options*, August 18, 2017, http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/august-2017/fork-road-canada-quebec-pension-plans/.
9. On the need for comparative analysis in the study of Canada see Daniel Béland, "Promoting the Comparative Turn in Canadian Studies," *Canadian Content* 11(Spring 2019): iv-v.

Letter from the Editors

In recent years, Western liberal democracies have witnessed a growth of far-right, neo-nationalist sentiment. Against this backdrop, Canada is often seen as an exception in its continued promotion of diversity and multiculturalism — thus, the narrative of Canadian exceptionalism. Yet a nuanced study of this country must reach beyond this narrative and scrutinize the *unexceptional* Canada. The collection of works that make up this twelfth volume of Canadian Content seeks to do just that.

The volume begins with Tessa Groszman's account of Mayor Camillien Houde of Montreal, a racist populist who rejected the conscription of French Canadians into World War II in the name of nationalist sentiment. Exploring Québec more broadly, Karolina Roman analyzes the minority-status of contemporary Anglo-Québécois literature. Megan Coulter invites us to question the methods and motivations of state organizations monitoring so-called subversive actors, as Canada did in the 1960s out of fear of Black self-organisation and resistance. Caitlin Mehrotra reminds us that this question is still relevant today, given the passing of Québec's Bill 21 — ostensibly to reaffirm Québécois secularism, but perhaps in a violating attempt to police racialized religious minorities. The next three works continue to acknowledge the possibilities for pushback against the state in spite of surveillance, exploring the political activation of otherwise marginalized voices. Francis L. analyzes the manner in which visible minority immigrants in Canada exert their influence at the ballot box. Beyond electoralism, Lucy Everett envisions an active battle for a decolonized, ecological future, as fought for by the Lubicon Lake Cree defending their land from the Albertan tar sands industry; likewise, Olivia Ramos discusses the regional variations in the ways that Indigenous peoples in Canada have contended with a settler-colonial state that seeks to erase their past and redefine their present.

Amid today's global pandemic, we all have our own unprecedented challenges to face — may this context, as well as the narratives in this volume of Canadian Content, remind us of the importance of solidarity then, now, and in our collective future. We thank all of our contributors for their hard work, and for showing dedication and patience in these difficult times. We hope you recognize volume XII of Canadian Content for what we see it to be: a labour of love, and a call to shine a light on the realities of Canada that have often been left in the dark.

Sincerely,
Arimbi, Meaghan, Simona, Brent, Tamara, and Eva

His Worship and His People

Camillien Houde and the Conscription Crisis of 1944

Tessa Groszman

"Lady of the Parc" By Eva Oakes

Camillien Houde, also known to the city and its citizens as "Mr. Montreal,"[1] was a four-time mayor of Canada's then-largest metropolis, who served for eighteen years between 1928 and 1954. In 1940, he was arrested for urging the public not to register for the war mobilization effort, which was required by law.[2] The depression and its acute aftermath combined with the effects of a looming world war was the context His Worship had found himself in prior to his imprisonment. Throughout his tenure, Mayor Houde flirted with fascism, and openly sympathized with the European fascist powers of the war.[3] Nevertheless, the country's distaste for Mr. Houde was entirely related to his defiance of a federal measure, and not to his political, cultural, or religious inclinations. This paper argues that various French- and English-language newspapers demonstrate that the rest of Québec and Canada were not concerned with Mayor Houde's preceding fascist or clerico-nationalist dispositions. This thesis will be explained by the decisions he made as the city's political leader, which will be drawn from a National Film Board documentary, as well as biographies and scholarly articles that address his time in office.

Mayor Houde was sincerely interested in the less fortunate, perhaps because he was raised in the working-class district of Saint-Henri. His father passed away when he was eight, and his nine siblings all died as infants. From a very young age, Houde worked as a butcher boy to help his mother, until he eventually became employed as a teller and rose through the ranks of the Banque d'Hochelaga. He was married to the daughter of Urgel Bourgie until she died of the Spanish flu.[4] When Houde left his position at the bank, he remarried, and attempted business ventures in the coal, insurance, and confectionary industries, all of which failed miserably. Evidently, he was then perceived as an out-of-work nobody whose only good fortune lay in his three daughters and who perfectly fit into the city's growing ranks of unemployed men. Through a connection made on a job, he joined the Conservative Party of Québec, in order to, as he would affirm, "keep warm."[5] In other words, his entire political journey and eventual involvement in all three levels of government had initially emerged from his personal experience with hardship — an experience that would directly result in a future investment in public works, and therefore, in the shaping of the city of Montreal to date. And so, as mayor, the figure of Camillien Houde would be symbolic of the deprivation and distress of the French-Canadian working class.

Although his roots appropriately influenced his economic viewpoints and formed his genuine care for the city's financially underprivileged, they did little to influence his views on ethnoreligious or racial equality, which were considerably unprogressive. Many believed Mayor Houde to be a clerico-nationalist who idolized Mussolini as a right-wing populist. For instance, at a YMCA annual banquet, he clarified who the French-Canadian people would stand with if England were to declare war on Italy.[6] Despite the generally agreed upon notion that "nothing tortured Houde more than the knowledge of the misery and suffering going on in this city,"[7] he was a blatant racist. For example, in a political speech in Québec City, he stated that Jews ought to leave Montreal for Palestine. A. M. Klein's poem "Political Meeting," addressed to Houde, highlights the fascist leanings of the Québec people

by drawing a parallel between a local occurrence and fascism's larger reality.[8] It is not surprising that during this time, the province understood communism as a much greater threat than Italian Fascism.[9] And so, despite his arduous first thirty years of living on the margin of Montreal society, as mayor, he would govern in an undemocratic and openly racist manner in order to favour and assist a certain group of people.

The group that Mayor Houde deemed more deserving of the city's residency was restricted to Québec's Roman Catholic population. French scholarly literature describes His Worship as a man-of-the-people, but he was, in reality, a (fascinating) man-of-*his*-people. As an old-style Québec nationalist presiding over thousands of hard-pressed French-Canadians to whom he could relate on a personal level, Houde prioritized alleviating the poverty of the Montrealers living in the slums and dying of starvation and tuberculosis — the majority of whom were francophone. In other words, from the time he entered office, his belief in entirely eliminating the outcomes of the Great Depression prevailed over his staunch religious defense of traditional values. For example, his municipal government instituted a series of public works: the Atwater and Jean-Talon Markets, the Botanical Gardens, the Mount Royal Chalet and Lookout, Beaver Lake, and developments on Saint Helen's Island were all constructed for the purpose of providing men with employment. In almost every part of the city, he built numerous parks, roads, playgrounds, bridges, police and fire stations, tunnels, sidewalks, public baths, community halls, and public bathrooms known as "camilliennes." A 1947 *Maclean*'s article, entitled "The One and Only Houde," described his building programs and efforts to stem the depression as "the largest any city in this country has ever seen."[10] A publication by the Houde administration that presents the record of the work accomplished for "the metropolis of the Dominion, Canada's leader in civic enterprise" goes as far as to claim that "the civic improvements we have achieved are greater in proportion than any other city on this continent, and contrary to what has been happening elsewhere, we have done this without increasing taxes."[11] Due to his humble beginnings, the financial state of his residents were the source of his anxieties: on pay day at City Hall, Houde would be found cashing in his eight-hundred-dollar cheque to hand over to whatever delegation of unemployed people were standing outside his office, explaining to them how long it takes to "arrange these things through government."[12] His fiscal policies, therefore, were only *geared* toward this French-Canadian population living in the absence of a social security net. On the other hand, his political views were entirely designed to defend the interests of the people who were predominately of his descent, as evidenced by his decision to counsel the city against registration.

The onset of the Second World War would have Houde epitomizing the political interests and the cultural values of French Canada. When Parliament passed the National Resources Mobilization Act after Canada joined the war against Germany, Mayor Houde would proudly defend a French-Canadian Nationalist agenda one hundred percent opposed to idea of overseas military service. In 1939, former anglophone Houde supporters wrote letters to the editors of *The Gazette* and *The*

Star, all of which expressed their sense of disgust regarding his attitude. The Mayor had previously made fascist remarks in attempting to uplift the French-Canadian working class, but only when he began to explicitly display his disloyalty to the crown did Montreal's English press and its readers launch their anti-Houde campaign: "I would like to remind those that seem to ignore it that the Province of Québec is still and will ever be in the British Empire," one reader wrote. "It seems only reasonable that, as French Canadians are enjoying the full privileges of citizenship and freedom within this British Empire, that entails responsibilities and obligations which must be satisfied if they wish to continue to enjoy this freedom and citizenship within this great Empire of free nations," wrote another. His public opposition to national registration culminated in a press conference on the second of August, 1940, where, after learning that certain municipal buildings had been turned over to the Dominion Government for registration purposes, he made a statement that would appear on the front page of *The Gazette* the following morning. "I declare myself peremptorily against National Registration," he said. "I do not myself believe that I am held to conform to the said law... And I ask the population not to conform..."[13] Prime Minister King had promised that only volunteers would serve outside of Canadian territory, thus Houde and his constituents saw registration as "a certain forerunner of conscription."[14] Of course, Houde did not advise people against signing up for the war because he was irritated by the King administration's retraction of their promise. Rather, he was performing the act of civil disobedience for his fellow French-Canadians who had no interest in fighting outside the boundaries of Canada — as the results of the plebiscite would later demonstrate. As in the First World War, francophone Montrealers felt no religious, no historical, no ethnic, and, at times, even no political connection to Britain or France, but this time they also held vivid memories of 1917: student protesters in front of City Hall from the Université de Montréal and the Université Laval, represented by a young Daniel Johnson Sr., said, "We are opposed to any participation whatsoever in extra-territorial wars. We know what 1914 has cost us in money and men, and we will not consent to a national suicide."[15] And so, as a man-of-*his*-people, Camillien Houde unforgettably opposed the federal government, championing the ideology of French Canada and increasing his popularity amongst Montreal's francophones. Mayor Houde's advocacy for Canada's largest minority, but more specifically his preaching of civil disobedience, cost him four years at an internment camp and, obviously, the suspension of his mayoralty. *The Gazette*'s publication fell into the hands of Conservative Party leader Richard Hanson, who read the seditious statement to the House of Commons. Less than three days later, Prime Minister King and Minister of Justice Ernest Lapointe had the Royal Canadian Mounted Police waiting for the fifty-year-old mayor outside of City Hall, under the plain pretense that "the federal government cannot afford to have its laws defied by one of Mayor Houde's problems."[16] As the article that sent him to jail claimed, "overstepping the bounds of decency was nothing new to Houde, but this time he also overstepped the bounds of legality."[17] Yet because the country was at war, that article's life was cut short by the federal press censors. Mayor Houde was arrested under the Defense

of Canada Regulations, charged with sedition, and interned without trial in Ontario before being displaced to a camp in New Brunswick.[18] Interestingly enough, it would be his simple refusal to comply with the law of the land, as well as Ottawa's decision to interfere with the press, that would become the subject of contention across the country, not his history of fascism.

Since the early thirties, Houde's sympathy for fascistic movements and his characterization as a "Calamity Joe" had been no secret. Still, those undemocratic and racist peculiarities of his had barely even fazed the press. Again, it was rather the fact that his manifesto was illegal under the National Resources Mobilization Act, in addition to the decisions of the censor board, that created the scandal. In other words, when word of his arrest spread to newspapers across the country, Houde's prospective support for the fascist powers of the war was hardly mentioned. The focus was primarily on a) Ottawa's censoring, and b) the straightforward notion that the mayor of Canada's largest city had defied federal legislation. For example, a *Calgary Herald* article, entitled "Exit the Mayor," explains, "Mr. Houde is now languishing in an internment camp, where he has plenty of time to meditate on the process of Canadian justice," and it concludes with "They [the government] have shown that the Defense of Canada regulations mean just what they say, whether the offender is an Alberta farm hand or a mayor of Montreal." It never alludes to the idea that the Mayor was perhaps defending Italy or Vichy France, as it solely speaks to his perversion of the law. The *Winnipeg Tribune* called their article "Ottawa Cracks Down," and it explains the whole debacle without referencing the undemocratic air of Houde's intentions: "...this [Houde's act] constituted a flat defiance of the law of Canada... The authorities have prosecuted a number of petty offenders under the Defense of Canada Regulations. It would have been disastrous if a noisy offender should get away with it merely because of his high position." *The Edmonton Journal* called their article "No Matter for Suppression," and all it expresses, after explaining "Mr. Houde's defiance of Canadian law," is a vexation toward the censors. It ends with: "The treatment accorded to a newspaper of the standing and record of *The Gazette* is an especially deplorable example of a tendency which it is essential to curb." *The Evening Citizen* from Ottawa focuses on the idea that "the Canadian people need to be more aware of this menace of censorship." *The Globe and Mail* reads, "The politicians who were responsible for the attempt to suppress the illegal utterance of the buffoon of Montreal," — again, their anger is directed toward the legality of his undertakings — "will, if they are wise, be more charry about playing with political fire in the future. They will not go far wrong if they remember that the main reason for their existence is to prevent military information reaching the enemy. It is no part of the duty of Press Censors to meddle with politics or permit themselves to be used by the politicians." *The Albertan* describes how Houde made a "sweeping statement to disregard a law of the land": "It is unbelievable a man in his position would have openly defied Parliament so flagrantly." On the "mishandling of this incident," *The Victoria Daily Times* read, "France in her collapse stands as a warning of the danger of such a policy of domestic censorship. Let us face the facts in Canada and not be stupid and short-sighted," while *The*

Vancouver Sun went with, "If newspapers cannot report the official opinion of the mayor of Canada's largest city, what can they publish?" English-language papers referred to him as "the supreme notorious demagogue," "the most irresponsible politician in Canada," an "ill-conditioned clown," a "jack-in-a-box of Quebec politics," a charlatan, a buffoon, a sedition-monger, a traitor, a reckless man, a mountebank, a disgrace, and, needless to say, "Chameleon Houde" — all without a glance at his policies of race and religion. Essentially, apart from the censorship dilemma, the Pan-Canadian irritation, as *The Winnipeg Free Press* had put it, was related to the tenet that, "No matter what private views anyone may hold of Houde's importance and capacity, the fact remains that the mayor of Canada's largest city had openly defied a government measure."[19] Even Mackenzie King would clarify to the House the central issue with Houde's declaration: "It is a statement calculated to arouse opposition to the laws of this country," he said.[20] In an article written approximately halfway through his internment time, *The Gazette* confirmed that "it is well also to remember that he was interned for flouting the law, for a criminal act, and not for the opinions he held regarding the war and its persecution. It's entirely within the range of probability that he still holds the same views, but it is not because of them that he is still behind barbed wire."[21] And so, despite this significant political and religious divergence that he had made for the protection of the French-Canadian angle of the war, Canadians across the country were only interested in turning the case into an issue of the freedom of the press and of the status of federal law.

Strangely enough, the perception of the French press was fairly similar. For example, *L'Avenir du Nord*, a weekly liberal newspaper from the district of Terrebonne, called their article "Les lois de notre pays doivent être respectées," which shed light on how the Mayor had been "arrêté pour avoir prêché la révolte contre une loi du Parlement canadien," concluding with "Il s'est rendu coupable d'une offense grave qui l'a conduit là où il est. Le gouvernement d'Ottawa n'a fait que son devoir."[22] *L'Action Catholique* of Québec City read, "le premier ministre déclara que le gouvernement verrait à faire respecter la loi par tout le monde. Les autorités fédérales ont appliqué au maire de Montréal la même justice sévère appliqués dans le cas d'autres citoyens ordinaires." It ended by agreeing with the Mayor of Winnipeg, who said, "L'arrestation du maire de Montreal Camillien Houde montre que le gouvernement n'admet pas de désordre, même de la part de gens hauts placés."[23] *Le Devoir*, following a lengthy explanation of his arrest, attempted to respond to the question: "La presse du pays est-elle encore libre?"[24] In essence, the majority of French-language articles had, in fact, the same two dominant points as the English press: that of defying a federal law, and that of censorship — when one would have expected his fascist tendencies to have at least made an appearance, especially in the anglophone papers. It is therefore somewhat surprising that *La Tribune*, a daily newspaper from Sherbrooke, appears to be the only Canadian paper to, after his arrest, publish an article on the subject of his "Opinions pro-fascistes." They reference his past nationalistic ventures and his "anciens declarations," adding, "Il possède le titre de commandant de l'Ordre de la Couronne de l'Italie."[25] But all in all, the similar response on the part of the Canadian press demonstrates that the two

solitudes may be more alike than they appear to be. Not only were their concerns the same, but also, neither were bothered by the fact that Houde had a plethora of antisemitism, among other intolerances, in his baggage.

In conclusion, Mayor Camillien Houde was a Mussolini sympathizer who was deeply devoted to his French-Canadian constituents — from the officials he worked with, to the factory workers he was eternally connected to. He was so fond of *his* people that he would wind up serving time for them. His authentic love for the city would be confirmed in the letters he wrote to his wife while interned,[26] and the city's admiration for him would be illustrated by the fifty thousand people of all ethnicities who welcomed him at Central Station upon his return.[27] This whole puzzling narrative can be linked to the complexity of Houde's character. After all, he governed with a self-invented expression that "the best way to lead the crowd is to follow it," as the decoration on his nightstand would alternate between a framed photo of the Duce and a copy of *Das Kapital*. He defied registration not long after so merrily welcoming the Lord Mayor of London, the King and Queen, and the Princess.[28] He, ironically, had repudiated Adrian Arcand, and had even mistaken Klein's poem for an honor.[29] His infamous sense of humor stayed alive for each of the eighteen years of his reign, and he was, most significantly, a proud martyred figure for his compatriots,[30] who along with the Canadian press, entirely disregarded his inherent racist populism, to instead perceive the entire fiasco as a breach of federal law and an overstepping on the part of the press.

Notes

1. *His Worship, Mr. Montréal*, directed by Donald Brittain, Marrin Canell and Robert Duncan (1976; Canada: National Film Board of Canada), documentary film.
2. Brian Mckenna, "Camillien Houde," The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historica Canada. February 14, 2008. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/camillien-houde.
3. Claude-V. Marsolais, "Les inclinations fascistes de Camillien Houde et son internement durant la guerre," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 3, no. 3-4 (1995): 144.
4. Robert Lévesque and Robert Migner, *Camillien Et Les Annees Vingt Suivi De Camillien Au Goulag, Cartographie Du Houdisme* (Montreal: Editions Des Brules, 1978), 3-8.
5. *His Worship, Mr. Montréal.*
6. Marsolais, "Les inclinations fascistes de Camillien Houde," 145-153.
7. *His Worship, Mr. Montréal.*
8. A. M. Klein, and Zailig Pollock, *A.M. Klein: Part II: Original Poems 1937-1955 and Poetry Translations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 657-658.
9. Louis-Martin Tard, *Camillien Houde le Cyrano De Montréal* (Montreal: XYZ, 1999), 129.
10. Eva-Lis Wuorio. "The One and Only Houde," *Maclean's Magazine*, December 15, 1947.
11. Camillien Houde, *Montreal, Metropolis of the Dominion and Canada's Leader in Civic Enterprise* (Montreal: 1933).
12. *His Worship, Mr. Montréal.*
13. Lévesque and Migner, *Camillien Et Les Annees Vingt Suivi,* 159-169.
14. Leslie Roberts, "Quebec and the War," *Maclean's Magazine*, August 1, 1941.
15. Lévesque and Migner, *Camillien Et Les Annees Vingt Suivi,* 160.
16. *His Worship, Mr. Montréal.*
17. "Houde Arrested, Taken to Internment Camp," *The Gazette* (Montreal, QC), Aug. 6, 1940.
18. Lévesque and Migner, *Camillien Et Les Annees Vingt Suivi,* 171.

19. “Leading Canadian Newspapers Give Views on Censorship in Case of Houde,” *The Gazette* (Montreal, QC), Aug. 14, 1940.
20. *His Worship, Mr. Montréal.*
21. “The Case of Camillien Houde,” *The Gazette* (Montreal, QC), May 17, 1944.
22. “Les lois de notre pays doivent être respectées,” *L’Avenir du Nord* (Saint-Jérôme, QC), Aug. 9, 1940.
23. “Le maire Camillien Houde est arrêté et conduit dans un camp de concentration,” *L’Action catholique* (Québec, QC), Aug. 6, 1940.
24. “Arrestation et internement de M. Camillien Houde,” *Le Devoir* (Montreal, QC), Aug. 6, 1940.
25. “Internement du maire Camillien Houde,” *La Tribune* (Sherbrooke, QC), Aug. 6, 1940.
26. Camillien Houde, "Fredericton, N.B.", 1943, in *Camillien Houde* (Montréal: Stanké, 1979), 168.
27. John Kalbfleisch, “From the archives: Cheering throngs greeted Houde's return from jail,” *The Gazette* (Montreal, QC), Aug. 18, 2017.
28. *His Worship, Mr. Montréal.*
29. Klein and Pollock. *A.M. Klein: Part II,* 1010.
30. John Kalbfleisch, “Opinion: The notorious case of Mayor Houde,” *The Gazette* (Montreal, QC), Nov. 14, 2012.

Minority Publishing

The Case of Anglo-Québécois Literature

Karolina Roman

"Whistler Mountain" by Arimbi and Dewi Wahono

The term "Québécois" was coined in the 1960-1970s with the rise of nationalism in Québec, and became the official designation for citizens of the province shortly thereafter.[1] The two referendums of 1980 and 1995, as well as language laws aiming to protect the French language in Québec, namely *loi 22 and loi 101*, are just two repercussions of this turning point in the province's history. Another is the establishment of a "national" Québécois literature. Although this literature has successfully carved out a place for itself in Canada and in the Francosphere, it remains a *small* literature.[2] Québec's geographic location, sharing borders with anglophone Canada and with the United States, and the continued presence of "anglophones" on its territory have both contributed to the minority status of the francophone Québécois people, who have long grappled with linguistic and cultural insecurity.[3] ["Anglophone" is used here to mean any person living in Québec whose preferred language to communicate in the public sphere is English.]

Since the 1990s, as a result of the aforementioned language laws, many of the province's anglophones and allophones also speak French.[4] Their presence thus no longer represents as significant a source of linguistic and identity anxiety for the francophone Québécois. As this paper will demonstrate, the resulting boost in confidence has made it possible to recognize the plurality of allegiances among the citizens of Québec. In fact, "Québécois" is now used by many to refer to all residents of the province, regardless of their cultural baggage.[5]

Consequently, there has been a movement to (re)territorialise many of the identities that fall under the Québécois umbrella. [(Re)territorialisation, for the Anglo-Québécois, is the process through which this community has carved out a place for itself in Québec. This process includes the institutionalisation of Anglo-Québécois literary and social life as well as the publication of writing that depicts the English language in use alongside French in the province.][6] Many of these minorities have been searching for their place within a culture that had not been able to integrate them into its landscape in the past.[7,8] The resulting contact zone[9] between French and English is unique in Canada and North America. The historic relations between the francophone and anglophone communities in Québec, and the current status of English as the international *lingua franca* (a status reinforced by the growing influence of the United States) have made this contact more complex. These factors have led to the emergence of a community that has been attempting to make its presence in Québec official for almost fifty years: the Anglo-Québécois. Although the Anglo-Québécois community is not ethnically homogenous, its members have always benefited from the importance of English in Canada. As such, minority status is not one with which they are familiar. Before the implementation of the Québécois language laws, English proficiency had always given the Anglo-Québécois community certain social and economic advantages[10,11] However, since the rise of Québec's sovereigntist political parties in the 1970s, the Anglo-Québécois, i.e. citizens of Québec who choose to use English to communicate in the public sphere, have become members of a "double-minority," a concept used by many theorists in the field (see, for example, Gillian Lane-Mercier[12] Linda Leith,[13] Robert Majzels.[14])

This essay will explore the characteristics of this community's literary production. Particularly, it will address how its literature has come to resemble that of other minority groups. It will also show how the situation of the Anglo-Québécois is unique, insofar as they are a double-minority, that is, an anglophone minority in Québec within a francophone minority in Canada. The analysis will focus on the community's distinct situation and will be conducted based on an internship completed at Shoreline Press, an Anglo-Québécois publishing house, and theoretical research on Anglo-Québécois and other minority literatures.

The Case for "Anglo-Québécois" Literature

Before beginning the analysis, it is important to underline the distinction between "minority" and "marginality," especially given the current movement towards political correctness and the resulting academic and popular interest in minority cultures and literatures.[15] Although the Anglo-Québécois may be a minority in a quantitative sense of the word, they are not marginalized; that is, they are not treated as second-class citizens in their province with limited rights and freedoms, as various commentators on the language laws have suggested.[16,17] Though this distinction may seem obvious, it is necessary in the context of this essay, in order to avoid appropriating a reality that does not apply to this community. Hence, though there are parallels between Anglo-Québécois literature and other peripheral[18] literatures, the Anglo-Québécois community, unlike others, does not experience oppressive conditions.

The distinction is partly due to the inherent power relations that exist between the French and English languages. Since French in Québec is a minority language within a continent of mostly unilingual English-speakers, the shift in relative power of these languages does not exist elsewhere in North America. [In 2019, there were 8.5 million people in Québec (10% of whom are anglophone),[19] 37 million people in Canada, and 329 million people in the United States.][20] Furthermore, given the preeminence of English worldwide, the Anglo-Québécois community is more easily able to foster relationships with Toronto, the literary centre of Canada,[21] and with the British and American publishing spheres, both of which may facilitate access to so-called "universal" literature.[22] The importance of the Pan-American culture that encompasses the continent cannot be underestimated. David McGimpsey, a Montreal poet and writer as well as a part-time professor of creative writing at Concordia University, further develops this idea:

> I've heard Anglo writers who've come to Montreal from other parts of Canada romantically describe themselves as "double exiles." That is, exiled from Francophone culture in Quebec, exiled from the rest of Canada. This romance allows the Montrealer to ignore obvious bonds of Anglo-American culture (nobody on this continent is truly exiled from the music of the Backstreet Boys, nobody is exiled from CNN) [...].[23]

McGimpsey's article clearly underlines the effect the proximity of the United States has on the Anglo-Québécois cultural scene and helps to explain the need to examine proclamations concerning the minority status of this community. Nevertheless, as this paper will demonstrate, the literature produced by the Anglo-Québécois community shares many characteristics with that of other minority groups.

The expression "Anglo-Québécois literature" will be used to refer to the works produced by this community. Neither the expression, nor the distinctiveness of the body of work, have always been universally agreed upon.[24,25,26,27,28] First, this essay will demonstrate precisely what is to be included in this body of literature, and then make the case for this selection over others. Anglo-Québécois literature includes any work written entirely or partially in English by an author who considers themselves to be "Anglo-Québécois."[29] The same logic extends to any affiliated literary institutions (publishing houses, journals and magazines, critical scholarship, university departments, bookstores, etc.).

As defined by Gilles Marcotte, a prominent Québécois literary critic, the aim of "national literature" is to create a body of work with which those who read and write it can identify.[30] [My translation.] Thus, the need and the responsibility to establish Anglo-Québécois literature lies with the community itself. What is more, when we consider that the Québécois identity was founded on the basis of territorial independence[31,32] it is possible to conceptualise Anglo-Québécois literature as a part of Québec's "national" literature.[33] Since the late 1990s, this hypothesis has been explored by several Québécois cultural journals; a testimony to the openness of the Québécois people towards a community into which they previously feared to be assimilated. *Voix et Images, Spirale, Québec Studies*, and *Lettres québécoises* are all examples of journals that have special issues, features, and articles dedicated to exploring Anglo-Québécois literature and its authors. [See *Voix et Images*, Spring 2005; *Spirale*, Spring 2005, Fall 2006; *Québec Studies*, Fall 1998/Winter 1999, Winter 2007/Spring 2008; *Lettres québécoises*, Spring 1999, Winter 2006, Spring 2019.] In an interview from 2006 in *Spirale*, David Homel explains that "Parler de littérature anglo-québécoise, c'est se référer à *une autre façon d'être québécois*."[34] [My translation, my emphasis: "Anglo-Québécois literature is just another expression of Québécois identity."] As for *Lettres québécoises*, the journal released a special feature in 2019 titled "Écrire en anglais au Québec." [My translation: "Writing in English in Quebec."] The feature includes testimonies from writers and translators, as well as articles about Anglo-Québécois literary institutions. It also offers an overview of new releases in Anglo-Québécois literature, further inciting its readership to explore the writing of a community with which it shares the province.[35]

The perspective promulgated by these publications challenges first the idea that a national literature must necessarily be a unilingual entity,[36] and second, Marcotte's "model of reading [national literature] for self-recognition."[37] The Anglo-Québécois community is united only by a shared language, although even this cannot be said definitively, as is exemplified by Robert Majzels, an Anglo-Québécois author who prefers to call himself a "barbarophone" rather than an anglo-

phone38.[38] Many members and writers of the community consider themselves to be bilingual (in the 1990s, over 50% of the Anglo-Québécois considered themselves bilingual),[39] as in the case of Gail Scott, a renowned writer, journalist, and founder of the journal *Spirale*, who writes "with the sound of French in her ear."[40] Such heterogeneity, typical of Anglo-Québécois literature, favours an openness towards the Québécois Other, as it requires one to either speak the other language or to turn to a translation.[41,42,43] Likewise, the openness of Québécois literature towards Anglo-Québécois writing has contributed to the deconstruction of the myth of "two solitudes" and has facilitated the discovery of a whole new world sharing the same territory. [The myth of the "two solitudes" originated with Hugh MacLennan's novel by the same name,[44] which deals with the seemingly disconnected francophone and anglophone worlds in Canada and popularized usage of the expression to describe the phenomenon.][45] In the following citation from an issue of *Canadian Poetry* on Anglo-Québécois poetry, the editor, Jason Camlot, counters Marcotte's "model of reading for self-recognition."[46] He suggests that the interest of national literature lies not in its reiteration of a nation's own identity, but in its capacity to introduce us to another's: "Why would one want to read about *here* when one can read about *there*?"[47] In Québec, both are possible.

Francophone Québec's interest in Anglo-Québécois literature is not one-sided. We have come a long way since the days of Hugh MacLennan and Leonard Cohen, who considered themselves anglophone Canadians[48] (although, it is worthwhile to note that Québécois identity had not yet been defined at that time, not to mention Anglo-Québécois identity), and of Mordecai Richler, who has been accused of erasing *le fait français* (the French fact) in his writing on Montreal.[49] There is now a flourishing Anglo-Québécois community that wants to participate in and enrich Québécois culture, as described by Linda Leith: "[...] these writers are less anxious than many of the older writers are about Québec nationalism; they are open to francophone aspirations, and interested in participating in Québec society."[50] These writers, researchers, and editors have invested their time and energy into the Québécois literary scene and have founded their own institutions, allied with their francophone counterparts. Leith is the perfect example: she is the founder of the international *multilingual* literary festival, Blue Metropolis Bleu, and the editor of her own bilingual publishing house, Linda Leith Publishing/Linda Leith Éditions (LLP). She has had a direct impact on both the Anglo-Québécois and Québécois communities. Scott also often speaks of the bonds she has forged with both the francophone and anglophone communities in her city.[51,52] The identity of these personalities from the Anglo-Québécois literary world is intimately linked to that of the Québécois—they share a province and, especially, the city of Montreal, of which the bilingual, or perhaps more aptly, multilingual, character has long been a point of interest.

The unique linguistic atmosphere of the city, where approximately 75% of the Anglo-Québécois community resides[53] has led some to call this body of work "Anglo-Montreal literature." This proposition, which has emerged both on the inside[54] and the outside[55] of the community, presents several problems. Firstly, given

the history of economic and linguistic division in the city, this expression refers to an outdated perception of Montreal, as explains Catherine Leclerc, a researcher in the field from McGill University:

> [...] [Cette nomenclature] est ancrée dans une tradition qui fait de Montréal soit une ville anglaise potentiellement dangereuse (du point de vue de la tradition francophone), soit une ville anglaise où le français n'a qu'un rôle accessoire (du point de vue de la tradition anglophone).[56] [My translation: [The expression "Anglo-Montreal literature"] is anchored in a tradition that would have Montreal be either a potentially dangerous English city (according to the francophone tradition), or an English city in which French is merely ancillary (according to the anglophone tradition).]

The emergence of a somewhat unified Anglo-Québécois identity is rooted in its own political motivations in response to the Québécois nationalist movement. The community is thus very intimately tied to Québec and Montreal. The city is no longer strictly unilingual and anglophone, as described by the aforementioned authors. Rather, it is multicultural and multilingual, something its literature should reflect.

In the same article as cited above, McGimpsey discusses neighbourhoods similar to Montreal's Mile End and Plateau-Mont-Royal. These districts, once celebrated for their heterogeneity, owe much of their reputation to Québec's language laws. However, the effects of gentrification upon these neighbourhoods cannot be overlooked. Their inhabitants, be they anglophone or francophone, are now for the most part white and of middle- or upper-class economic standing and benefit both from these privileges and from the social power of English and French.[57]

Secondly, most of Québec's literary production, both French and English, takes place in Montreal.[58] Thus, if the province's English-language literature is based in Montreal, so is its French-language counterpart. The city was the cradle of Canadian literature before its major institutions moved to Toronto.[59] [My translation.] Indeed, most of the province's francophone and anglophone publishing houses, universities, and cultural festivals are located in Montreal.

Finally, though roughly 75% of the Anglo-Québécois live in Montreal, there are 25% who live in the rest of the province.[60] The quest for Québécois identity, although important in the province, triggered a profound schism in Canada's francophone community. As a result, many of the other francophones in the country have struggled to define their distinct cultural identity.[61,62] A Montreal-centric definition of the Anglo-Québécois community could lead to a rift similar to the one that followed the official recognition of "Québécois" as a distinct identity in Canada. Although the power relations between the Franco-Canadian minorities and the rest of Canada differ vastly from those in play between the Québécois and the Anglo-Québécois, the division of francophone Canada is still a particularly telling example.

A Minority Literature

The Anglo-Québécois are indeed a minority within the Québécois literary scene. The Québécois, in turn, thanks to a recent increase in linguistic and cultural confidence[63,64] have become more and more interested in the group's literature over time, even coming to consider what space it could occupy within the province's "national" literature. Due to the double-minority status of the Anglo-Québécois, their literature shares many characteristics with that of other peripheral literatures.

I became directly acquainted with the Anglo-Québécois publishing world in the summer of 2019, over the course of which I completed an internship at Shoreline Press, an independent anglophone publishing house based in the city of Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, Québec. Shoreline Press was founded in 1991, around the time Anglo-Québécois literature began garnering attention on Québec's literary scene. During the internship, I learned about the ins and outs of working in the context of a *small* literature, which highlighted how important Anglo-Québécois institutions' involvement in their community is to their survival.

Lianne Moyes, a professor and researcher at Université de Montréal, defines the institutionalisation of Anglo-Québécois literature as "the ongoing process through which the field of English-language writing legitimates, regulates, challenges and transforms itself."[65] According to François Paré, a minority literature theorist of central importance in the field, the process of institutionalization is extremely important to ensure the survival of the literary production of a minority.[66] Leith, an Anglo-Québécois activist, has long been invested in this process on behalf of her community. Not only is she the founder of the multilingual literary festival Blue Metropolis Bleu and the editor-in-chief at LLP, as discussed above; she is also an active member of the Association of English-language Publishers of Québec (AELAQ), of which she acted as president in 2018. The same is true of Judy Isherwood, the editor-in-chief at Shoreline Press, who was also president of the AELAQ for four years in the 2000s. Institutionalisation also encompasses the establishment of writers' associations, such as the Quebec Writers' Federation (QWF). Notably, the QWF still awards the literary prize launched by the Québec Society for the Promotion of English Language Literature (QSPELL), another such literary institution from the 1990s.[67] The QWF's mandate includes, of course, the promotion of Anglo-Québécois literature, but the organization also seeks to "encourage dialogue and collaboration between Québec's English- and French-speaking literary communities."[68] Several writers published at Shoreline—poet Angela Leuck and Margaret Caza, for example—are members of the QWF, and Serge Sabourin's collection of short stories, *The White Handkerchief and Other Stories*, was nominated for one of the QWF's literary prizes.

It was the AELAQ that established the *Montreal Review of Books (mRb)*, an anglophone literary journal dedicated to Anglo-Québécois literature. As is often the case with minority works[69] *mRb* is the only source of literary criticism for many of Shoreline's publications. Isherwood often spoke of *The Gazette* and other local weekly publications that reviewed Anglo-Québécois works regularly in the past,

but most of these have since closed their doors due to dwindling readership and the increasingly digital nature of publishing.

Literary criticism also poses more personal problems within the minority publishing world. Given that minority literature operates within a "*small* world," it is often normal for writers, editors, and critics to know each other well.[70] These social ties can be cause for anxiety when it comes to literary criticism or publication, since it is obviously more difficult to give an honest critique of a friend's work than a stranger's. The issue is further aggravated by the existence of a large number of independent publishing houses.[71] Many of these operate out of a kitchen or a living room and have a permanent staff of one to two people, as is the case for Shoreline Press. At such proportions, editors undoubtedly fulfill duties beyond those traditionally included in the job description. Jon Torell is a poet published at Shoreline Press and a long-time close friend of Isherwood's. Over the summer of 2019, we worked on his new poetry book. However, "assembled," is perhaps a better word than "worked on," since revising his work was not a big part of our editing job. Torell had laid it all out in a very precise manner, from the stanzas, to the font, to the margins: everything would remain as it was; it was ready to be printed. In response, Isherwood simply said that his books had been good in the past and that she trusted his judgement as a poet and friend. Though this case may be extreme, it serves as a particularly illuminating example of the interweaving of the personal and the professional in the context of *small* literature. A publication of low quality is more likely to be overlooked in the mass produced by a *large* literature, but the opposite is true for *small* literatures, which can give the impression of lower overall quality.[72]

Though camaraderie certainly has its disadvantages, it can be highly beneficial in facilitating communication between the different stakeholders in the industry. While the *Association nationale des éditeurs de livres* (ANEL), the Québécois and Franco-Canadian counterpart of the AELAQ, has over a hundred members, the AELAQ has only twenty-two, all of whom know each other very well. An organisation of this size is very useful in a minority context, especially when it comes to communication with the centre[73] in this case, Canada's literary hub of Toronto.[74] Due to the distance of the organization from its main audience, many authors have had to turn to Toronto to make up for the lack of anglophone resources and readers in Québec.[75] Thus, it comes as no surprise that Toronto's literary festival, The Word on the Street, was a topic of interest at the AELAQ's May 2019 meeting: how to get there, who to send, etc. It appeared as though the transportation and registration fees were to be covered by the participants; there were not enough subsidies to pay for the event. The same is true of book tours. If an Anglo-Québécois editor wishes to send one of their authors on tour to Toronto or Vancouver, for example, the budget needs to be revised to account for the cost of the train or plane ticket, transporting the books, accommodations, etc. In an interview for *Publishers Weekly*, Leith describes the effect that operating outside the centre has on her professional life:

> Publishing organizations do their best to give me a chance to meet some of those Toronto influencers, and I'll sometimes get slotted in for a 15-minute meeting with a Toronto journalist at an annual general meeting. I'm glad of [sic] these opportunities, but the

> meetings are hurried, they don't take place often, and they're rarely with individuals I've met before. So, I start from scratch, explaining who we are—and I always look like a supplicant.[76]

As we can see from her account, the literary milieu is much larger in Toronto, and the people do not know each other as well—they are more difficult to reach and cannot make as much time for meetings. Publishing happens differently at the pace of five book a year (Shoreline), versus 10,000 books a year (HarperCollins, of which the Canadian branch is in Toronto).[77] Since the arrival of the Internet, things have improved. For instance, communication between publishing hubs in the centre and the periphery is easier, even in the case of New York or London.[78] This presents an incredible advantage for Anglo-Québécois literature, which is written, after all, in the international *lingua franca* and the most translated language in the world: English.

In Québec, however, English represents more of a barrier. Even the Québécois journals that publish texts on the subject are entirely in French. Half of the ten articles in the special issue on Anglo-Québécois literature in *Lettres québécoises* from May 2019 have been translated from English. The same barrier exists for Anglo-Québécois authors who want to promote their work; for instance, if one wants to appear on a Québécois television channel, French proficiency is required. Hence, the importance of translation for this literature cannot be overlooked. As Paré explains, in order for the "majority" to turn its attention to minority writing, it must be made accessible—intelligible—to them.[79]

Over the last couple of years, several researchers have worked on assembling a comprehensive corpus of Anglo-Québécois publications.[80] Lane-Mercier has done research to show the importance of translation in the dissemination of these writings:

> [...] [L]a traduction a joué un rôle crucial dans l'ouverture graduelle de l'institution littéraire québécoise à [...] la littérature anglo-québécoise. Mieux, certains critiques francophones soutiennent que, une fois traduites, les œuvres anglophones font bel et bien partie de la littérature québécoise81."[81] [My translation: [...] [T]ranslation has played a crucial role in the gradual opening of the Québécois literary institution [...] to Anglo-Québécois literature. What is more, certain francophone critics consider these translated works to be a part of Québécois literature.]

The grey area between the two literatures Lane-Mercier comments on is very much in line with the Anglo-Québécois desire to integrate into Québec's literary milieu, and the hesitation to accept on the part of the francophone Québécois. The AELAQ, for example, will be present at the *Salon du livre de Montréal* for the second year in a row. The organization will only be renting one table to share amongst its members, but, as per their discussion at the May 2019 meeting, their presence at the event is no longer as contentious as it was in the 1990s.

Institutions, whose role it is to find readers for their publications,[82] are not the only ones to partake in this fusion of identities. [My translation.] It is also the

case for many authors published at Shoreline Press. Torell, who intersperses his poetry with French and Spanish, is but one example. Another Shoreline poet, Ivan Shneedorfer, has also published a bilingual book of poetry, *The Silence after the Music / Le silence après la musique*, in which all the poems appear in French and in English, side by side. Isherwood herself has written a bilingual guidebook of Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, *Randonnée à pied de Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue / A Historical Walking Tour of Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue*. She has also published a bilingual collection of short stories about the City of Pointe-Claire edited by Mark Abley. There are no translations in *La ville que nous partageons / The City We Share*, but rather independent stories in English and in French. Leith, for her part, publishes books in French through the francophone branch of her publishing house, Éditions Linda Leith. This trend is not out of the ordinary in minority literature. For instance, Isherwood has published a trilingual collection of short stories, *Healing Waters / Ts'aakal Ja'oob / Aguas milagrosas* (in English, Mayan, and Spanish). The book has been presented at five exhibits in Mexico and Canada, making Mayan culture more accessible to anglophones and hispanophones alike.[83] The same trend is discernible in Franco-Canadian writing. The presence of bilingual theatre in Ontario,[84] Manitoba,[85] and Saskatchewan[86] is a good example. Patrice Desbiens[87] and Jean-Marc Dalpé,[88] two Franco-Ontarian writers, also write in both English and French. Most *large* literatures are entirely unilingual, and their publishing houses do not open up their catalogues in a similar fashion. While a Canadian publishing house can easily publish material by only Canadian writers, several Anglo-Québécois publishing houses have had to look elsewhere.[89] Both Shoreline[90] and LLP[91] publish, in addition to Anglo-Québécois works, Canadian, Franco-Canadian, American, and Indigenous publications. What is more, as Paré has discussed, in a minority context, a print run of just a couple hundred copies is considered successful.[92]

As a result, journalistic writing is more likely to be taken into consideration by *small* literary institutions. "[...] [C]ircumstantial writing alone constitutes one of the major forms of expression in exiguous cultures,"[93] notes Paré. While this may not always be true for the Anglo-Québécois in Montreal, it certainly is for those living in the surrounding rural areas. It is interesting to note that this form of writing was in fact an important source of French-language content in Québec until the Révolution tranquille, highlighting yet another link between the two cultures.[94] [The Révolution Tranquille (Quiet Revolution) was a period of social, cultural, and political change in Québec in the 1960s. Its repercussions, which continued into the 1970-80s, include, among others, the language laws that legislated the francisation of immigrants and named French as the province's official language (La charte de la langue française, or Charter of the French Language), a protectionist measure against the influence of English in the majority-francophone province; a movement to secularise the province, the state institutions of which had intimate ties with the Catholic church; and the creation of publicly-funded cégeps (Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel, or General and Vocational Colleges) in an effort to both secularize education and establish an identity distinct from that of France within the francosphere. The period culminated in the 1980 referendum

for sovereignty (which was defeated by a narrow margin of 59.56% to 40.44%). It remains of central importance in Québec's history and a culminating point in francophone and anglophone relations in Canada.][95] For rural Anglo-Québécois communities, newspapers and other weekly publications are, in a sense, tangible proof of their passage, their existence.[96] They are also another example of cooperation between the francophone and anglophone media in the province. Many of the Anglo-Québécois rural institutions do not have the financial resources to stay on their feet, so they are bought out by larger francophone companies. These larger corporations give the small journals the support they need in order to continue operating and learn about what it means to publish work for isolated pockets of a community:

> When Quebecor [sic] acquired our paper, [...] they reasoned, if we can distribute the *Journal de Montreal* [sic] to thousands of Quebecers, we can distribute 5000 [sic] copies of *The Record*. It was somewhat of a rude awakening for them to discover there is no alternative to getting Farmer Brown his *Record* every morning other than driving it 10 kilometres down a dirt road on the 12th range.[97]

Publishing as a minority, or as a double-minority such as the Anglo-Québécois, requires unparalleled passion and dedication. Behind each published work is a team of devoted people who have oftentimes poured hours of unpaid labour into the project. Governmental subsidies are thus indispensable to the survival of minority literature. Currently, the most important source of funding for Anglo-Québécois literature is the Canada Council for the Arts, to which one can find a dedication on every book's copyright page. In fact, the Council's financial support is so important that it was implicitly included in the yearly budget discussed at the AELAQ's May 2019 meeting. However, despite this additional income, the AELAQ's members and presidents are all volunteers. Shoreline also functions according to a cooperative model, meaning that 100% of the earnings from a given book (minus private sales made by the author) are put towards the publishing costs of the next one. Unless they were able to obtain a grant from the government or their university, the interns remain unpaid. Isherwood, who is retired, lives off of her savings rather than publication revenue; she calls Shoreline her "passion project."

Conclusion

Since the 1970s, the Anglo-Québécois community has come a long way in terms of institutionalizing its literary industry and constructing a united identity. In turn, the francophone Québécois, having developed a sense of linguistic and cultural confidence, have become increasingly interested in the English-language literature in the province. Many Anglo-Québécois literary figures from across the "solitude" have also expressed their desire to be a part of the Québécois literary scene. Despite the community's existence in the province, the name it has adopted,

which intimately ties it to the traditionally francophone Québécois identity, has not, however, always been fully accepted.

As a result, Anglo-Québécois literature, in a state of quasi-defined, almost-acquired legitimacy, has come to resemble many other minority literatures. The Anglo-Québécois double-minority is, of course, very different from other minority groups. The community benefits from privileges as a result of the historical relations it has had with the francophones of the province (who also fought to establish their identity as Québécois) and of the relative power of English in the Canadian, North American, and international contexts. However, despite the nuances that must be underlined in the Anglo-Québécois minority experience, the literature produced by this community shares numerous characteristics with that of other peripheral communities.

Shoreline Press, an Anglo-Québécois publishing house with which I had the opportunity to familiarize myself over the summer of 2019, depends on the generosity of its community at every step of the publishing process, from the texts it publishes to the interns it hires. In return, the editor-in-chief, Judy Isherwood, has become involved in her community in both a professional and personal way, forging strong bonds with many of the writers she has published over the years. The publications of this establishment as well as its place within the Québécois literary scene allow us to better understand the realities of a *small* literary world. Anglo-Québécois literature, like other *small* literatures, is also looking to prevent its decline, to establish itself in a definitive manner, and to create a distinct niche for itself in the place where it is produced.

Minority literature, however, typically must cope with conditional or non-existence. In fact, one could argue that the precariousness of *small* literature is the very foundation of its resilience. Vulnerability within a literary milieu encourages camaraderie and devotion. As Paré so appropriately writes, "[t]he margins of literature have only, as their ultimate wealth, the word *maybe*."[98]

Notes

1. Gregory J. Reid, "Is There an Anglo-Québécois Literature?", *Essays on Canadian Writing*, no. 84, (Fall 2009): 18.
2. François Paré, *Exiguity: Reflections on the Margins of Literature*, trans. Lin Burman (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 5.
3. Chantal Bouchard, *La langue et le nombril : une histoire sociolinguistique du Québec* (Saint-Laurent: Fides, 2002), 289.
4. Reed Scowen, *A Different Vision: The English in Quebec in the 1990s* (Don Mills: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1991), 172.
5. Catherine Leclerc and Sherry Simon, "Zones de contact : Nouveaux regards sur la littérature anglo-québécoise," *Voix et Images* 30, no. 90, (spring 2005): 19.
6. Concept borrowed from Reid, "Is There an Anglo-Québécois Literature?"
7. Josée Legault, *L'invention d'une minorité : Les Anglo-Québécois* (Louiseville: Éditions du Boréal, 1992), 282.

8. Paré, *Exiguity.*
9. Concept borrowed from Marie-Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (1991): 33-40.
10. David Albouy, "The wage gap between Francophones and Anglophones: a Canadian perspective, 1970–2000," *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue canadienne d'économique* 41, no. 4, (November 2008).
11. David Pettinicchio, "Migration and ethnic nationalism: Anglophone exit and the 'decolonisation' of Québec," *Nations & Nationalism* 18, no. 4, (2012).
12. Gillian Lane-Mercier, "Les (af)filiations contestées de la littérature anglo-québécoise," *Tangence*, no. 98, (Winter 2012).
13. Linda Leith, "Québec Fiction in English During the 1980s: A Case Study in Marginality," *Québec Studies* no. 9, (1989/90).
14. Robert Majzels, "Despair as Oppositional Practice: Writing the Minority Within Québec's English Minority," *Québec Studies* 44, (Winter 2007/Spring 2008).
15. Paré, *Exiguity.*
16. Scowen, *A Different Vision.*
17. Legault, *L'invention d'une minorité.*
18. Concept borrowed from Paré, *Exiguity: Reflections on the Margins of Literature.*
19. Scowen, *A Different Vision,* 16.
20. "Countries," World Population Review, accessed on August 25, 2019, http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries.
21. Ian Rae, "Literary Scenes in Canada," Letters to the Editor, Canadian Literature, May 25, 2009, accessed on August 26, 2019, https://canlit.ca/literary-scenes-in-canada/.
22. Majzels, "Despair as Oppositional Practice," 67.
23. David McGimpsey, "A Walk in Montreal: Steps Through the Literary Politics of Contemporary English Québec," in Language Acts: Anglo-Québec Poetry, 1976 to the 21st century, ed. Jason Camlot and Todd Swift (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 2007), 137.
24. Jason Camlot, "(Im)possible Conditionals: Anglo-Québec Poetry/ la poésie anglo-québécoise," *Canadian Poetry: Studies, Documents, Reviews* 64, (Spring/Summer 2009).
25. Leclerc and Simon, "Zones de contact."
26. Gilles Marcotte, "Neil Bissoondath disait...," *Québec Studies* 26, (Fall 1998/Winter 1999).
27. Gail Scott, "Miroirs inconstants," *Québec Studies* XXVI, (Fall 1998/Winter 1999).
28. Lianne Moyes. "Écrire en anglais au Québec : un devenir minoritaire?" *Québec Studies* 26, (Fall 1998/Winter 1999).
29. Definition borrowed from Gillian Lane-Mercier, "La fiction anglo-québécoise en traduction française depuis 1990 : agents, agences et textes," *Recherches sociographiques* 55, no. 3, (September – December 2014): 544.
30. Marcotte, "Neil Bissoondath disait," 7.
31. Catherine Leclerc, "Détournements amoureux: lire en anglais au Québec," *Québec Studies* 44, (Winter 2007/Spring 2008).
32. Lianne Moyes, "Fitful Colloquy: une occupation difficile des lieux," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 46, no. 3, (Fall 2012).
33. Leclerc, "Détournements amoureux."
34. Martine-Emmanuelle Lapointe, "« Autant de façons d'être québécois » : entrevue avec David Homel," *Spirale*, 210, (September – October 2006): 31.
35. Dimitri Nasrallah, Heather O'Neill, Julia Caron, Myriam Daguzan Bernier, Rachel McCrum, Samuel Mercier, Ralph Elawani, Arizona O'Neill, Richard King, Yvon Paré, Virginie Mont-Reynaud and Martin Morin, "Écrire en anglais au Québec," *Lettres québécoises* 173, (Spring 2019).
36. Leclerc, "Détournements amoureux," 72.
37. Camlot, "(Im)possible Conditionals," 7.

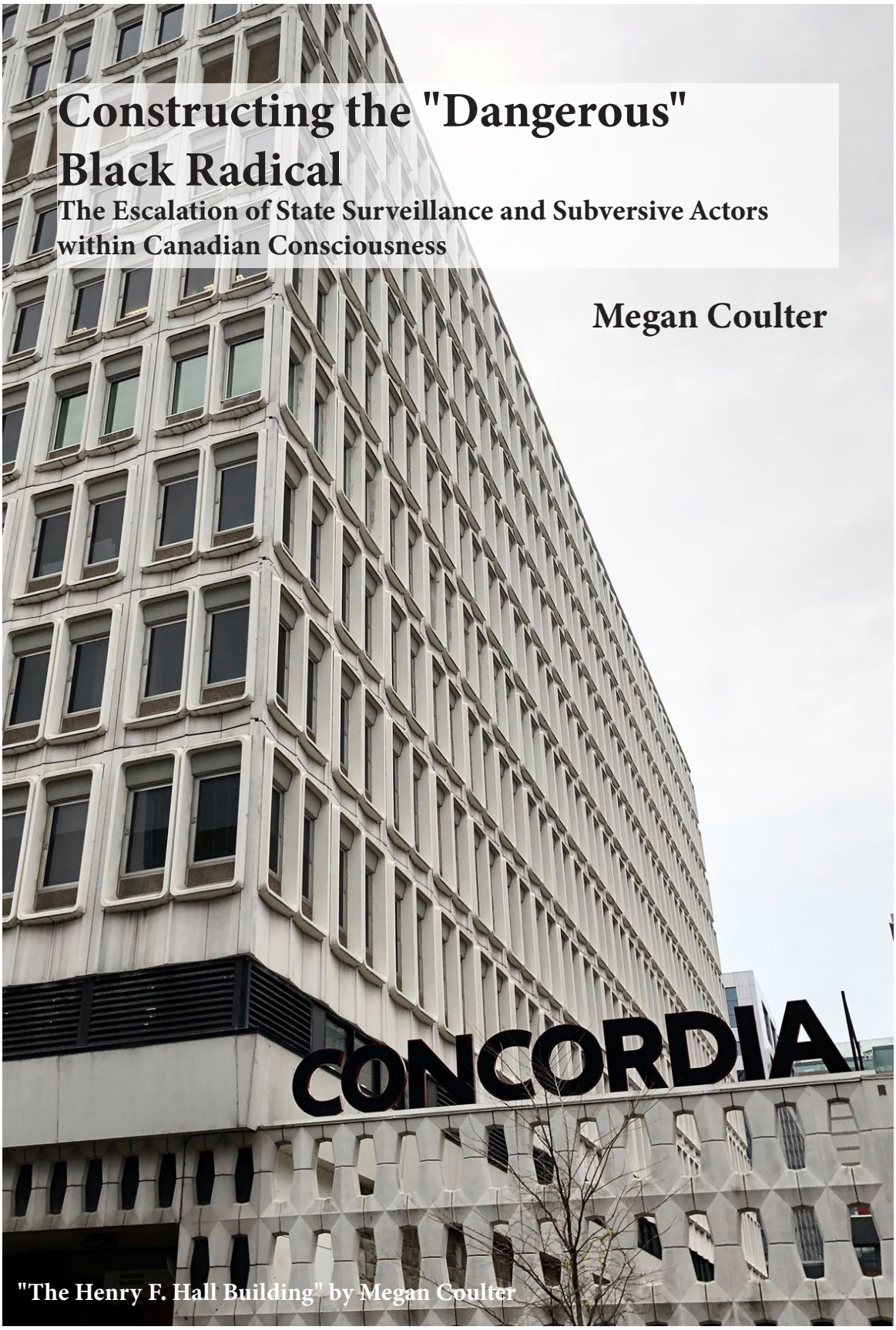
38. Robert Majzels, "Anglophones, francophones, barbarophones : Écrire dans une langue rompue," *Québec Studies* 26, (Fall 1998/Winter 1999).
39. Scowen, *A Different Vision,* 71.
40. Gail Scott cited in Gillian Lane-Mercier, "Writing-Translating (from) the In-Between: An Interview with Gail Scott," *Studies in Canadian Literature/Études en littérature canadienne* 31, no. 6, (2006): 173.
41. Barbara Godard, "L'Éthique du traduire : Antoine Berman et le « virage éthique » en traduction," *TTR : Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* 14, no. 2, (2001).
42. Paul Ricoeur, *Sur la traduction*, (Paris: Bayard, 2004), 69.
43. Lawrence Venuti, "Translation as cultural politics: Regimes of domestication in English," *Textual Practice* 7, no. 2, (1993).
44. Hugh MacLennan, *Two Solitudes*, ed. Michael Gnarowski, (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2018).
45. L. Moyes and S. Henzi, "Les « prétendues "deux solitudes" » : à la recherche de l'étrangeté," *Spirale*, no. 210, (September – October 2006).
46. Camlot, "(Im)possible Conditionals," 7.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Linda Leith, "Québec Fiction in English During the 1980s: A Case Study in Marginality," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 15 no.1 (1990), 96-98.
49. Lianne Moyes, "Fitful Colloquy."
50. Leith, "Québec Fiction in English During the 1980s," 104.
51. Scott, "Miroirs inconstants."
52. Lane-Mercier, "Writing-Translating (from) the In-Between."
53. Reid, "Performing Anglo Québec: The Myth of Solitudes and (E)merging Anglo-Québécois Subject," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 46, no. 3, (Fall 2012): 108.
54. Scott, "Miroirs inconstants".
55. Marcotte, "Neil Bissoondath disait."
56. Leclerc, "Détournements amoureux," 73.
57. McGimpsey, "A Walk in Montreal," 139.
58. Leclerc, "Détournements amoureux," 73.
59. David Homel cited in Lapointe, "« Autant de façons d'être québécois »," 31.
60. Reid, "Performing Anglo Québec," 108.
61. Paré, *Exiguity.*
62. Lucie Hotte, "Littérature et conscience identitaire : l'héritage de CANO." (Laval: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2000).
63. Bouchard, *La langue et le nombril.*
64. Anne-Marie Beaudoin-Bégin, *La langue racontée : s'approprier l'histoire du français* (Montreal: Somme toute, 2019).
65. Lianne Moyes, "In/Between: The Institutionalization of Anglophone Writing in Québec, 1980-1996," *The Nordic Association for Canadian Studies Text Series* 22, (1996): 150.
66. Paré, 18-19.
67. "Awards Overview," Quebec Writers' Federation, accessed on August 20, 2019, https://qwf.org/awards/awards-overview/.
68. "Mandate," Quebec Writers' Federation, accessed on August 20, 2019, https://qwf.org/about-qwf/what/mandate/.
69. Paré, *Exiguity,* 71-73.
70. *Ibid,* 72.
71. *Ibid,* 145.
72. *Ibid,* 53-54
73. Concept borrowed from Paré, *Exiguity.*
74. Linda Leith, "The pros and cons of working as an English-language publisher in Québec," *Publishers Weekly*, August 13, 2019.

75. Francine Bordeleau, "Littérature anglo-québécoise : une minorité forte," *Lettres québécoises*, no. 124, (2006): 17-18.
76. Leith, "The pros and cons of working as an English-language publisher in Québec."
77. "Company Profile," HarperCollins Publishers, accessed on August 26, 2019, https://www.harpercollins.com/worldwide/about-us/company-profile/.
78. Robert Majzels, "Despair as Oppositional Practice," 67.
79. Paré, *Exiguity,* 14-15.
80. Lane-Mercier, "La fiction anglo-québécoise en traduction française."
81. *Ibid*, 532.
82. Dimitri Nasrallah et al., "Écrire en anglais au Québec," 26.
83. "Our Books," Shoreline Press, accessed on August 26, 2019, http://shorelinepress.ca/?page_id=36.
84. "SURTITLES™," Le théâtre du nouvel Ontario, accessed on August 20, 2019, https://letno.ca/en/extras/.
85. "Accessibility," Théâtre cercle Molière, accessed on August 25, 2019, https://www.cerclemoliere.com/en/events/.
86. "Scapin," La Troupe du Jour, accessed on August 25, 2019, https://www.latroupedujour.ca/en/moliere/.
87. Patrice Desbiens, *L'homme invisible / The Invisible Man* (Subdury: Éditions Prise de Parole, 2008).
88. Jean-Marc Dalpé, *Le Chien*, (Sudbury: Éditions Prise de Parole, 2003).
89. Leith, "The pros and cons of working as an English-language publisher in Québec."
90. "Our Books," Shoreline Press.
91. "Submissions," Linda Leith Publishing, accessed on August 26, 2019, http://www.lindaleith.com/Pages/view/Submissions.
92. Paré, *Exiguity,* 5.
93. *Ibid*, 95.
94. *Ibid.*
95. John Alexander Dickinson and Brian J. Young, "The Quiet Revolution," in *A Short History of Quebec*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).
96. Sharon McCully, "The History and Evolution of Official Language Minority Media in Canada," *Canadian Issues/Thèmes canadiens*, (2007): 26.
97. *Ibid*, 25.
98. Paré, *Exiguity,* 151.

Constructing the "Dangerous" Black Radical

The Escalation of State Surveillance and Subversive Actors within Canadian Consciousness

Megan Coulter



"The Henry F. Hall Building" by Megan Coulter

Introduction

The socio-political boundaries of the United States and Canada are colonial impositions strategically exploited by the settler state to further the mass colonial project of North America. Post-colonialism poses new challenges, specifically the underlying racist tone reflected in the structure of institutions and discriminatory treatment of racialized minorities.

Diasporic memory and forgotten Black experiences mirrors and shields historical power dynamics rooted in slavery and colonial domination. The decolonial revolution and "mental mobilization process" in Canada is described by Dennis Forsythe as "in part facilitated by the ongoing race war in the US which is so close by. But in more specific ways, a series of events in Montreal and elsewhere in Canada... mobilized Blacks towards a sensitive and acute awareness of the problems of Blacks."[1] The transcendence of strict notions of nationality through Black internationalism empowered people to exercise their rights to express public dissent and opposition to the existing colonial order.

This paper contextualizes the racialized experiences of Caribbean activists in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Montreal to analyze Canada's methodologies in surveilling state-defined radicals in the post-Quiet Revolution era. The 1969 Sir George Williams Affair and the resistance of student Rosie Douglas provide two crucial historical experiences as matters of state surveillance of Black radicals. Furthermore, this paper dispels the conception of the Caribbean as "underdeveloped," as Canada could be thought about similarly.

Historical Background: The Revolutionary African Diaspora

A historical examination of the revolutionary history of the African diaspora is necessary to understand the context in which subservive Black actors were surveilled by the state and constructed as "dangerous" radicals. While not carried out by the African diaspora, one event crucial to this understanding in the Canadian context is the Quiet Revolution. The Quiet Revolution — occurring in the 1960s — was a socio-political and socio-cultural shift in favour of a francophone society, inspired by global decolonization movements and the need for political, cultural, economic, and social independence for the Québécois. Montreal, Québec's largest city, was the economic and cultural capital of the country that was first understood to be a "cosmopolitan" destination by Haitian migrants and refugees fleeing dictator Duvalier's violent dynasty. The cosmopolitanism of Québec was attributed to upper-class Hatians because of Québec's common French language, and their similar desire for political change. Haitians subsequently began to permanently migrate to Québec during this time through the domestic scheme.[2] From 1955 to 1967, immigrants from Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados also arrived in Québec, assuming that they could better their economic circumstances in the province, fur-

ther institutionalizing the racialized nature of the domestic sphere and entrenching the perception of their racial inferiority in Québec. Yet many of these women were instrumental in ideologizing accommodation, strengthening transatlantic kinship networks, reconfiguring old community associations and creating new ones, as well as empowering the Black community in Montreal. Despite the perception that the city was a metropolitan center, reverse cosmopolitanism was occurring in the racialized society of Montreal. This decade represents a microcosm of Canadian histories that maintain intersectional ties of race, gender, and class concerning radical politics.

One significant form of intersectional politics that affected Canada was the Black Power Movement, a transnational political and social revolution originating in the United States during the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s, calling for Black unity, recognition of Black heritage, and pan-Africanism. Further, this movement emphasized the need to build a sense of community in which Black people defined their own goals and aspirations, led their own institutions, and fully participated in the decisions that have an impact on their lives.[3] As such, this era was one of heightened political consciousness, in which Black people asserted their rights to opportunities for self-mobilization and the expression of radical politics.[4] Multinational reverberance from the Civil Rights Movement was reflected in the Black Power Movement, as it emphasized racial pride, economic enfranchisement, and the need for recognition of Black histories. At the time this movement was occurring, there were political and social parallels between the Caribbean and Québec that went unrecognized by French-Canadians.

Similar to the Black Power Movement, groups such as the 1965 Caribbean Conference Committee (CCC), 1968 Congress of Black Writers and Artists in Montreal, and the left-political core of the CLR James Study Circle (CLRJSC) engaged in acts of Black militancy that underscored racial oppression in Canada. The rise of Black Power gave expression to a conflict between masters and slaves, colonizers and colonized, oppressors and oppressed, and youth and tradition, while also vocalizing the struggle against dehumanization.[5]

The 1960s onwards is therefore a critical moment toward the understanding of Black liberation in North America overall, but also in Québec in particular. The Quiet Revolution allowed a redefining of the Québécois identity that excluded many of the newly arrived Caribbean immigrants, and reinforcement of perception of the latter's racial inferiority. This discrimination occurred at a time when the Black Power Movement and community-based expressions of Black mobilization were reverberating through the United States, galvanizing Caribbean students to vocalize their grievances with Sir George Williams University's institutional failures, culminating in the 1969 Sir George Williams Affair (SGWA) and the rise of other Black radicals, who were in turn increasingly surveilled by a settler-colonial state that perceived their activisms as a threat to their monopoly on power.

Theoretical Background: Constructions of Identity

The paternalism of the white majority has constructed "blackness" as something outside of the realms of what it means to be human. Racial hierarchy is a construct invented by the dominant institution to empower the superiority of Whites and give them the agency to marginalize the non-White inferiority. Biology and pigmentation have combined as markers of cultural hierarchies and citizenship that include and exclude along racial lines. This further reinforces that blackness is a social construction perpetuated by Western canonical tradition as a historical product of slavery and colonialism, resulting in anti-Black racism that continues to be experienced in real-time. The eradication of meaning from Black histories gives whites the room to justify a paternalistic attitude towards Black institutions. This silencing of narratives renders these histories meaningless, authorizing the erasure of Black history and fabricating revolutionary meanings to trivialize motives.[6] Historical and intellectual processes such as eugenics within Western academia have facilitated this ignorance and racism, as colonizers and enslavers elaborate theories of racial and cultural superiority in order to justify the degeneration of their moral values. Racial categories and racism are present in absentia, silently shaping and animating national debate while the government, state politicians, and theorists promote a neutered narrative of multiculturalism and inclusion. The structural limitations of race and racism imposed by the settler state continue to shape race relations today in so-called Canada. The broader Canadian racial consciousness reinforces the argument that the fluidity of racial classifications is dependent on the particular society and their perspectives.

The capitalization of Black emphasizes the racial identity, nationalism of the African diaspora, and the transnational dynamics of people from African descent, underpinned by the cultural movement of pan-Africanism. It is crucial to make the distinction between Caribbean and Black as two different categories. These categorizations are not mutually inclusive — if one operates under the assumption that they are, they reinforce a pigeonholing of race, citizenship, and identity.

The process of cultivating a critical race consciousness transformed how people critically thought about how the state exercised control over "subversive" actors. The reality of systemic oppression within groups that were actively marginalized by the dominant society meant that the problem of colourism emerged. Power reproduces itself, and these activist movements are not exempt from the consequence of the oppressed condition. Canadian imperialism marginalizing different groups is demonstrated in a variety of contexts. In this case, Canada's role as an imperial nation with a vested interest in Caribbean affairs is illustrated by institutions such as the Royal Canadian Bank.[7] This extranational intrusion of Canadian institutions into the Caribbean context reveals the pervasiveness of imperialism in the post-colonial era.

The predominantly white francophone population of Québec perceived themselves to be the oppressed and racialized whites within the imposed borders

of Canada. Essential to this paper is an understanding that the role of the oppressed and oppressor are not mutually exclusive. The myth that a non-racist Canada has been achieved must be debunked. Contrasting political ideologies within Québec during the 1960s can be tied into a more extensive discussion about transnational issues of racial violence and decolonization. Survivors of colonization have sought opportunities to show solidarity with people who have suffered from similar constraints by a system that would determine real power and class opportunity. The theme of identity and the ways through which it is defined is paramount to this paper. Rodney John, one of the original complainants who charged Perry Anderson of the racism that culminated in the 1969 Sir George Williams Affair, discusses the sharp demarcations of "Otherness" imposed on the racialized Caribbean students by the majority's notion of who they were. John poses the question faced by individuals "that in order to be authentic, how much interpretation of the other do you absolve? How do you then react against it?"[8]

These constructions of a Black identity as a racially inferior "Other" to whites must be understood in tandem with the historical circumstances described previously. With a burgeoning Black liberation movement attempting to resist the Black identity as defined by a white-supremacist capitalist institution — both in the United States and Canada, and beginning around the 1960s — the state necessarily felt the need to construct actors partaking in these liberation movements as "dangerous" radicals who had to be surveilled to protect the state and the property owned by its dominant institutions.

Caribbean Student-Led Resistance: The Sir George Williams Affair

Given the historical and theoretical frameworks, Québec's institutional failure to adequately recognize the rights of Caribbean students culminated in 1969 during the student occupation of Sir George Williams University in Montreal, Québec. The 1969 Sir George Williams Affair (SGWA) was a watershed moment for race relations in Canada. The organizing began when students at Sir George Williams University (SGWU) accused a white instructor, Perry Anderson, of racially discriminatory grading practices against Black students. The students escalated their tactics in pursuit of justice by taking over the university's computer centre in the Henry F. Hall building in February 1969 after months of neglect on behalf of the university administration. Up to 200 students participated in the protest, and the riot police eventually intervened after two weeks to clear the students from the building. The eviction culminated in 97 students being arrested (42 of whom were Black), a fire, and millions of dollars in damage to the university. The SGWA is centrally about anti-racism, the need for a re-examination of power relations in society's institutions, and exploring alternative political ideologies in the Canadian context.

Let it be noted that a reframing of the narrative is necessary to reconsider power relations concerning the systematic erasure of the Sir George Williams Affair

in the historiographical contention of a White Canada. The systematic failure of Caribbean students by Perry Anderson evoked students to think critically about the structural limitations of race and institutional racism imposed by the dominant society. Implicit racism in the post-colonial era is camouflaged in society's instructions, government actions, and surveillance. To some participants in the SGWA, justice is merely a matter of perspective.[9]

The activism expressed by protestors in the SGWA reflected the anti-racism sentiment that guided the Black Power Movement. The racialized responses of the state in their reaction to students further reinforced their assumption that the structure of the institution and power of the state facilitated systemic discrimination. This raising of consciousness enlightened some people's perception that intrinsically colonial academic institutions like SGWU championed one kind of identity that facilitated abuses of power, and participated in the inherently hierarchical structure of the state. These people who assume positions of authority have been nurtured in Western canonical tradition that breeds alliances. This power dynamic operates in multiple dimensions, as seen in who inherits these states in post-colonial nations.

CLR James (1901–1989) was a revolutionary Trinidadian historian, journalist, intellectual, and political activist whose contributions revitalized the Black Radical Tradition in Canada, galvanizing Caribbean and African-descended peoples in Montreal and Canada.[10] People with universal perspectives like CLR James questioned this Eurocentric orientation of knowledge and absolute power, ultimately finding a substitute in Marxism and gaining a critical perspective on power. This dynamic is amenable to change through a radical transformation of Canadian society's institutions.

The computers destroyed in the SGWA represented an investment in modern technology, the institution, system, modern capitalism, and the ways in which the exhibition of race and class were converging. The SGWA represented more than discrimination on the basis of race, but the systematic racism that is embedded in the state itself. Race was a catalyst preceding the conversation about the need for democratization of the university and whiter society. The SGWA is an instance of elevated social consciousness and call to action for institutional transformation in the Canadian context.

The Radicalization of Rosie Douglas

A few blocks from SGWU, the SGWA also had a reverberant effect at McGill. Roosevelt Bernard "Rosie" Douglas was a prominent student leader during the SGWA. During his time as an undergraduate at SGWU, he was affiliated with the Conservative Party of Canada through his presidency of the Conservative Student Union. After obtaining a Bachelor of Arts Degree majoring in political science, Douglas moved on to his master's program at McGill University when the SGWA occurred in 1969. During this time, he developed friendly relationships with Cana-

dian political leaders, including Pierre Trudeau and René Lévesque.[11]

Politically, Douglas was an advocate who sought to improve impoverished conditions for Black people globally, but more specifically in the national regions of the Caribbean as well as Canada. He cut ties from the Conservatives when the national student leader, Joe Clark, refused to discuss the issue of racism on a national level. He played a role in the Civil Rights Movement taking place in the United States, befriending Martin Luther King Jr. and Stokely Carmichael in the late 1960s. Douglas was a key organizer of the 1968 Congress of Black Writers in Montreal, a group that included other notable figures such as Walter Rodney, CLR James, Angela Davis, and Bobby Seale.[12]

In January 1969, Douglas led an anti-racism sit-in with future Canadian Senator Anne at SGWU. This peaceful demonstration escalated into a two-week occupation of the computer center in the Henry F. Hall Building when the protestors rejected the administration's proposals for ending the standoff. The conflict culminated in the arrests of Douglas and Cools, among 95 others, for the damage of more than $1.5 million worth of equipment. Douglas was asked to apologize for his alleged actions of inciting a fire, and upon his refusal was sent to a jail in Québec for 18 months following the SGWA. It is a commonly held belief the RCMP infiltrated the student movement by employing agent provocateurs, who caused the majority of the damage by setting the fire.[13] During his time in jail, Douglas wrote a lengthy report on prison reform in Canada, and wrote the book *Chains or Change*. Douglas's commitment to fighting for racial equality within Canada was demonstrated by his decision to embark on a cross-Canada Black unity tour, in which he also built solidarity with Indigenous peoples. This tour, however, prompted the RCMP to employ FBI agent Warren Hart to closely monitor his actions. In 1976, Douglas was labelled a dangerous risk to Canada's national security to Canada by Solicitor General Warren Allmand, who signed an order that deported him to Dominica, where he eventually served as Prime Minister in February 2000 until his death in October of that same year.[14] As Richard Iton contends in his book, *In Search of the Black Fantastic: Politics and Popular Culture in the Post-Civil Rights Era*, the political potential of shared experiences inspire a common sense of belonging within a forged community that is feared by colonial nations who make efforts to suppress this through surveillance.[15]

Students at McGill acknowledged that racism transcended the discriminatory treatment of six Black students by Perry Anderson, and the issue was centrally concerning "the manner in which the administration and most of its faculty has behaved, [which has] revealed the racism of the entire institution."[16] The framing of events by students published in campus newspapers shaped the narrative of the SGWA at a micro-level due to the limited readership. Nonetheless, this was a unique opportunity for Black students at McGill to express their allegiance with students at SGWU and criticize their academic institution with a lesser degree of censorship.

The censorship of the severely racially motivated violence against protestors during the SGWA is consistent with the systematic erasure of the event with-

in Canadian consciousness. By essentializing the framing of this protest as solely about race, the state silences the students' complaints regarding institutional power relations and reinforces the criminalization of the Black "radical" by employing police brutality. These tactics employed by the state tie back to a history of violence towards Blacks which dates back to slavery and the plantation economy. This institutionalization of race-based relationships manifests itself in the nature of governmental responsibility, security in the nation's interests, and state surveillance. There must be a re-examination of who is classified as a threat by the Canadian government and what dangers they potentially pose to state security.

Criminalization of the Black "Radical"

Instructive experiences demonstrating the severity of unjust police brutality — like that of the Kent State and, more locally, riot police intervening in a student occupation at McGill on November 10, 2011 — were fed by what happened at Sir George Williams University.[17] When talking about race, power dynamics are also at play, and so we must acknowledge the importance of intersectionality as well as politics as a means of structurally changing society. In 1960s, the anti-racist political struggle in Montreal was fought by working in solidarity with other groups of people.

The Commission of Inquiry Concerning Certain Activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (also known as the McDonald Commission) was a federal commission created in 1977 to investigate allegations that had been made of the RCMP, including "the entry and search of premises in Montreal and the removal of documents from those premises without lawful authority, the illegal burning of a barn, and the theft of dynamite," and more broadly, that "certain members of the Force [have] been involved in investigative actions or other activities that were not authorized or provided for by law."[18] These allegations were later substantiated by the Commissioner of the RCMP, John Starnes, who found that "there were indeed indications that certain members of the RCMP may have been involved in these sorts of investigative actions and activities."[19] The Commission fails to note that these suspicions were grounded in race-specific relationships. The mandate determined for by the Commission by Order-in-Council was as follows:

> (a) to conduct such investigations as in the opinion of the Commissioners are necessary to determine the extent and prevalence of investigative practices or other activities involving members of the R.C.M.P. that are not authorized or provided for by law and, in this regard, to inquire into the relevant policies and procedures that govern the activities of the R.C.M.P. in the discharge of its responsibility to protect the security of Canada;
>
> (b) to report the fact relating to any investigative action or other activity involving persons who were members of the R.C.M.P. that was not authorized or provided for by law as may be established before the Commission, and to advise as to any further action that the Commissioners may deem necessary and desirable in the public interest; and

> (c) to advise and make such report as the Commissioners deem necessary and desirable in the interest of Canada, regarding the policies and procedures governing the activities of the R.C.M.P. in the discharge of its responsibility to protect the security of Canada, the means to implement such policies and procedures, as well as the adequacy of the laws of Canada as they apply to such policies and procedures, having regard to the needs of the security of Canada[20]

The RCMP was mortally afraid of young Black men and women who held particularly militant political beliefs.[21] These activists were perceived to pose an enormous threat to the state due to their involvement in the Black Power Movement, which was situated at the forefront of Canadian politics. Most threatening to the RCMP was that the intersectional qualities of the Black militant rhetoric were transferrable to other movements occurring within Canadian politics and, therefore, had the potential to spread. This shift towards Black Power within Black popular consciousness was understood by the RCMP as being both nationalist and internationalist, which heightened fear and anxiety in the 1960s, "causing it to mobilize its forces not just against Black dissident voices, who tended to be labelled as 'subversives,' but also in opposition to Blacks qua Blacks, as if blackness were a contagion about to contaminate and despoil the myth of Canadian innocence."[22] The state conceptualized white women as the embodiment of purity and sanctity of society, and therefore were not to be infringed upon. Sexual relationships between Black men and white women were thought to emasculate the white man.[23] In some ways, the conquest of Québec by the English was challenged by the Quiet Revolution. Francophone Québécois shared the same sentiments that they had been emasculated by British conquest and were continually experiencing the English colonization of Québec. Writers like Pierre Vallières gave voice to these feelings by racializing Québécois as the "oppressed whites" in reaction to anglophone dominance.[24] This appropriation of blackness reinforces a substitution of identity and appropriation of negritude that misrepresents the nature of oppression. Moreover, this flagrant essentialization of Québécois people ignores racial discrimination against Black communities in Québec. Arguably, this period was about restoring the manhood of the French Québécois man and reinstituting the patriarchy in Québec. The RCMP felt as though they were experiencing a loss of control over the Canadian populace and thus resorted to extraordinarily invasive surveillance methods and investigative actions, and illegally employing provocateurs like FBI agent Warren Hart and Indigenous infiltrator Douglas Durham.[25] Warren Hart, a Black undercover operative for the FBI and RCMP, infiltrated the Black Power Movement and is known for monitoring Rosie Douglas. Their crimes emphasize the need for institutionalized accountability. The McDonald Commission brought security and intelligence questions to the forefront of Canadian consciousness.[26]

The Commission of Inquiry into Police Operations in Québec Territory (Keable Commission, 1997–81) is equally as influential in the reconstruction of Canadian security and intelligence. The Keable Commission had a similar mandate to that of the McDonald Commission and raised the same fundamental questions about the nature of the crimes committed by the RCMP, what government bodies

should be responsible for monitoring Canadians, and the future of state security in Canada. In conjunction with the Keable Commission, the McDonald Commission helped lay the groundwork for the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) established in 1984.[27]

The Communication Security Establishment Canada (CSE) established in 1946 raised concerns for Canadians about the lucrative issues of mass surveillance and interception of personal communications. Their three-part mandate overall entails "recognizing and respecting the difference between lawful dissent and activities that are illegal or that threaten national security."[28] The responsibilities of CSE involved acquiring foreign signals intelligence, protecting Canadian government computer systems and networks, and assisting federal law enforcement and security agencies (such as the RCMP and CSIS). The surveillance capabilities of the RCMP, CSIS, and CSE surpass are increasingly shaping Canada into a police state.[29]

In 1974, SGWU merged with Loyola College and rebranded itself as Concordia University. It could be argued that the administration, in part, strategically aimed to remove the racial stigma associated with the institution that the SGWA called into question. Since then, there have been significant events at Concordia University that have been influenced by the narrative of the SGWA. In 2002, a protest was held by pro-Palestinian student activists against former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's address on campus. Following suit, the self-mobilization of students operating in this same activist tradition is continuing to occur at sister institutions like McGill University. Within the previous two years, #changethename (R*dmen) and support of divestment of the university's endowment fund from fossil fuel companies have established new precedents for activist tradition on campus.

Conclusion

The 1960s were a formative era for Black politics, and Montreal continues to be a mecca for Black self-organization.[30] Further research must be done on the extent to which governmental organizations like the RCMP, CSIS, CSE monitor "subversive" actors today. The future of state surveillance is dependent on the rate of advancement of technology. The central concerns of the government regarding the prevention of the solidarity of people who were beginning to think about the power of the state and questioning institutions in society during the Quiet Revolution have taken new forms that are unfolding in our present historical moment.

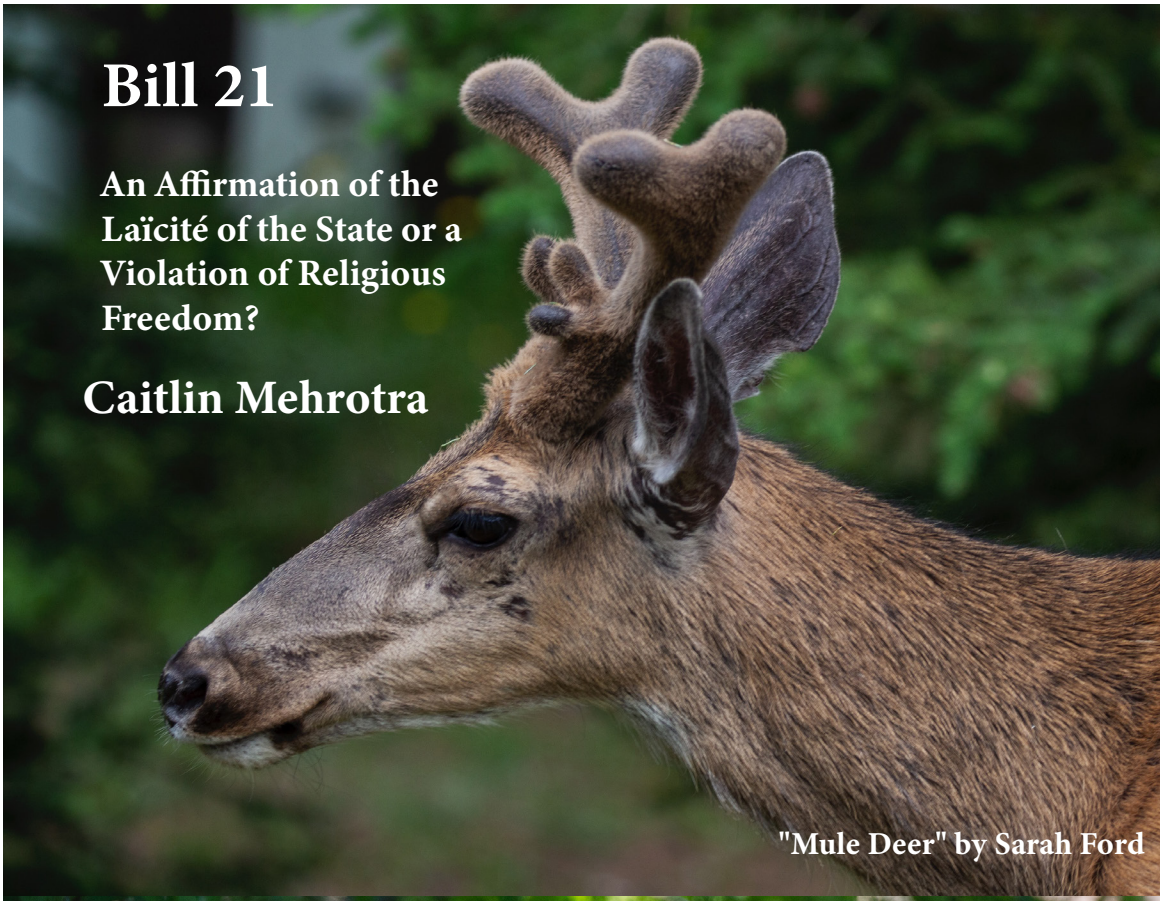
Notes

1. David Austin, *Fear of a Black Nation* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2013), 13-36.
2. Dorothy W. Williams, "The Domestic Scheme [1955-1965]," in *The Road to Now: a History of Blacks in Montreal* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 2006), 100-118.
3. David Austin, "All Roads Led to Montreal: Black Power, the Caribbean, and the Black Radical Tradition in Canada," *The Journal of African American History* 92 no. 4 (2007): 516–39.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Austin, *Fear of a Black Nation*, 1-12.
6. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston:Beacon Press, 2015).
7. Peter James Hudson, "Imperial Designs: The Royal Bank of Canada in the Caribbean," *Race and Class* 52 no.1 (2010): 33-48.
8. *Ninth Floor,* directed by Mina Shum, (2015, National Film Board of Canada), documentary, https://www.nfb.ca/film/ninth_floor/.
9. *Ninth Floor.*
10. Austin, *Fear of a Black Nation*, 73-93.
11. Michael O. West, "History vs. Historical Memory: Rosie Douglas, Black Power on Campus, and the Canadian Color Conceit," *Palimpsest: A Journal on Women, Gender, and the Black International* 6, no. 1 (June 28, 2017): 84–100, https://doi.org/10.1353/pal.2017.0012.
12. David Austin ed., *Moving against the System: The 1968 Congress of Black Writers and the Making of Global Consciousness, Black Critique* (London: Pluto Press, 2018).
13. Valerie Belgrave, "The Sir George Williams Affair," in *The Black Panther Revolution: A Retrospective* eds. Selwyn Ryan and Taimoon Stewart, with assistance of Roy McCree (St. Augustine: ISER, University of the West Indies, 1995), 119-131.
14. Polly Pattullo, "Obituary: Rosie Douglas," *The Guardian* (London, UK), Oct. 5, 2000, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2000/oct/05/guardianobituaries.pollypattullo.
15. Richard Iton, *In Search of the Black Fantastic: Politics and Popular Culture in the Post-Civil Rights Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
16. Daily Publications Society McGill University, *The McGill Daily Vol. 58 No. 061: January 29, 1969* (Montréal : McGill University, Daily Publications Society, 1969), http://archive.org/details/McGillLibrary-mcgill-daily-v58-n061-january-29-1969-11521.
17. McGill Library, "Student Unrest, 1968-1970," McGill Univeristy, Accessed December 5, 2019. https://www.mcgill.ca/library/branches/mua/virtual-exhibits/campus-life/student-unrest.
18. Canada. Department of Justice, and Commission of Inquiry Concerning Certain Activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. 1983. *The Position of the Attorney General of Canada on Certain Recommendations of the Mcdonald Commission: La Position Du Procureur Général Du Canada Concernant Certaines Recommandations De La Commission Mcdonald.* Ottawa: Dept.
19. John Starnes, *Closely Guarded: A Life in Canadian Security and Intelligence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1998), 1.
20. Canada. Department of Justice, *The Position of the Attorney General of Canada on Certain Recommendations of the Mcdonald Commission*, 1.
21. Austin, *Fear of a Black Nation*, 157-176.
22. *Ibid*, 159.
23. *Ibid*, 167.
24. Pierre Vallieres, *White N*ggers of America* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971).
25. Austin, *Fear of a Black Nation*, 172.
26. Starnes, *Closely Guarded*, 166.
27. *Ibid*, 164-176.
28. "Surveillance in Canada: Who Are the Watchers?", OpenCanada, accessed December 12, 2019, https://www.opencanada.org/features/surveillance-canada-who-are-watchers/.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Austin, *Fear of a Black Nation*, 177.

Bill 21

An Affirmation of the Laïcité of the State or a Violation of Religious Freedom?

Caitlin Mehrotra



"Mule Deer" by Sarah Ford

"Family of Geese" by Sarah Ford

Québec and secularism are tightly bound together in the Canadian political imagination. On June 17th, 2019, the Québec government passed Bill 21: an Act respecting the laïcité of the state.[1] Bill 21 formally prohibits teachers, police officers, judges and many others working in the public sector from wearing religious items such as hijabs, turbans, kippas, crucifixes, and other religious symbols in the course of their duties.[2] This Bill is part of the province's long history of debate over the nature of laïcité and the place of religion in liberal democratic societies, which is now scarcely an issue that is contended with in the rest of anglophone Canada. The purpose of the Bill is "to affirm the laicity of the State and set out the requirements that follow from it."[3] Proponents of the Bill claim that it completes Québec's sixty-year journey of separating Church from state, whereas its critics claim that the Bill is a violation of religious freedom as outlined by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.[4,5] Through an examination of the historical context of laïcité in the Québec state, Québécois nationalism, and the role of religion in Québec society, this paper will assert that Bill 21 is a reactionary measure against a perceived threat to the boundaries between political and religious life, and is irrelevant to the preservation of laïcité in Québec.

Québec's unique history has shaped its approach to laïcité. In order to define the concept of laïcité in Québec, one must examine the historical circumstances in which it was forged. For the majority of its history Québec has not been secular, but rather, its historical identity has been heavily tied to the Catholic Church, a legacy of its origins as a French colony. When New France was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, British domination spurned the creation of a French-Canadian ethno-nationalist identity.[6] The main differences that separated French-Canadians from the rest of British North America were the French language and the Catholic religion. For the French-Canadians, national and religious identities were tightly linked at both the cultural and institutional levels;[7] for example, up until 2019, a large cross hung above the speaker's chair in the Québec legislature. Consequently, the Catholic Church became very heavily involved in Québec nationalism and politics. For more than a century, the Catholic Church wielded heavy influence in the Québec socio-political landscape, performing many functions usually carried out by the state, such as providing education, health, and social welfare services.[8] The Church's influence was at its prime during the political tenure of Maurice Duplessis, a figure who held many positions in government and ultimately became Québec's Premier in 1936. His time in office has been described to run rampant with "rabid corruption, quid pro quo relationships with the Catholic Church, and shady dealings with big business."[9] Consequently, his term as Premier became known as the "Great Darkness." This state of affairs was interrupted by his death in 1959, and the subsequent election of Premier Jean Lesage and a new Liberal government in 1960.

As a reaction to the Great Darkness, Québec underwent a period of dramatic socio-cultural change known as the Quiet Revolution from 1960 to 1966.[10] It was a time of profound political, economic, social, and cultural transformations that not only brought Québec out of the Duplessis era, but also catalyzed a signif-

icant rupture with tradition. The most prominent structural change was the secularization of the state, previously heavily influenced by the Catholic Church. As explained by Genevieve Zubrzycki, this movement was "entwined with the rejection of the Church's moral authority and its exercise of tight social control on the one hand, and with nationalism on the other".[11]

The secularization of the state led to the secularization of the French-Canadian identity, which had previously been synonymous with the Catholic identity.[12] A new identity emerged, defined by secularism and circumscribed by the territory of Québec; critically, it was now centred on language rather than religion, which was a stronger basis for national identity in a liberal democracy. After the Quiet Revolution, Québec was no longer called "la Province de Québec," but "l'État du Québec," and French-Canadians adopted a new name to describe themselves: Québécois.[13] While the French language remained a core element of this identity, Catholicism was abandoned as an important or even desirable marker of the nation because "the Church was perceived no longer as a bulwark but rather, as a barrier to the development of the nation".[14] The influence of the Church in Québec society, both institutionally and ideologically, was seen as an impediment to change. Whereas the French-Canadian national vision was grounded in the notion of ethno-religious survival, the Québécois project explicitly rejected that idea. Instead, its newfound focus became the preservation of Québécois culture against the Canadian anglophone majority; this type of self-othering is key to forming and strengthening nationalistic ideals, as it provides a singular narrative around which its citizens can rally. This understanding of the history of Québécois nationalism and the Church's involvement in the state is critical to understanding the Québec concept of laïcité.

Marcel Gauchet, a French historian and sociologist defines the Québec mode of laicization as:

> "only occur[ing]where one denomination dominated; where this denomination was highly institutionalized and centralized, as is the case with Catholicism; and where, correspondingly, a public sphere could only be created through a strict separation of the state from the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, through a political struggle against those who would maintain this authority."[15]

During the Quiet Revolution, the laïcité of the state was understood as diverse degrees of deconfessionalization of public institutions.[16] These were the boundaries between political life and religious life, erected by the Quiet Revolution, and informed by the mutually supporting roles of nationalism and laïcité in Québécois nationalism. Jerome Melancon argues that because of the inextricable nature of Québécois identity from the laïcité of the state, a threat to these boundaries is then a threat to the modes of coexistence, political decision, and sovereignty of Québecers.[17]

Another consequence of the secularization of the state during the Quiet Revolution was the evolution of the role of religion in Québec society. Under the principles of laïcité, religion began to be seen as a part of an individual's culture, rather than as an intractable part of their identity. According to Melançcon, that is to say that a "neutral laicized state... requires a subjectivized religion that acts as a factor of identity and belonging... rather than a public religion that acts as the focal point for reflection on collective life."[18] The conception of religion that is at the heart of expressions like "the neutrality of the state" and "the separation of Church and state" is fundamentally different from the conception of religion that leads individuals to publicly adhere to the tenants of their religious beliefs.[19] The state of Québec views religion as a part of culture, separate from the Québécois identity, forming the boundary between religious and political life — as seen with Bill 21. Overall, religion is intended to exist as a private matter, with no place in the public sphere.

Since the early 2000s, this boundary between religious and political life has seemingly been threatened by a consequence of the Quiet Revolution. During the latter half of the twentieth century, there was a push to preserve the newfound Québécois identity, and by extension the French language. To this end, Québec government agencies began actively encouraging the immigration of Francophone populations to Québec, including those from primarily Muslim parts of North and West Africa.[20] Thus, even as traditional religious observance was on the decline in the province, there was a simultaneous diversification of spiritual groups and networks in the name of bolstering the French language. From 1951 to 2011 immigrants went from representing 5.6% of the population to almost 13%.[21] This influx of non-Catholic immigrants significantly affected the perception of the place of religion in society. Primarily, it challenged the religious and political boundaries — established during the Quiet Revolution — that were created for a homogenous population of white Catholics. The practices and traditions of other religions were thought to not fit neatly into these boundaries; Jerome Melancon notes this possibility, writing, "Differences in religion, and thus in the modalities of belonging and participation in the public sphere, open the possibility for misrecognition and for the denial of recognition."[22] Altogether, the perceived threat posed by newfound religious diversity has once again brought debates over the laïcité of the state into mainstream public discourse, as evidenced by Bill 21.

Modern laïcité debates focus on "reasonable accommodation," which is defined as an adjustment made in a system to accommodate or make fair the same system for an individual based on a proven need.[23] In this case, the system is Québec's secular identity and mode of existence. In 2007, Premier Jean Charest called for the appointment of a two-man commission to investigate the issue of reasonable accommodation in Québec, commonly known as the Bouchard-Taylor Commission. His justification for this commission were instances of what he deemed "unreasonable accommodation," including a Supreme Court decision to strike down an order of a Québec school that prohibited a Sikh student from wearing a kirpan, as a violation of freedom of religion under section 2(a) of the Canadian Charter

of Rights and Freedoms.[24,25] The purpose of the Commission was to define the concept of laïcité as it pertained to Québec and to provide guiding principles for enacting this concept. The final report presented two options for the secularism of the state: open secularism, and rigid secularism — otherwise known as strict secularism.[26] According to the latter view, the secular state's obligation to remain at once neutral vis-à-vis the interests of religious groups and autonomous from the influence of religious authorities, implies that "state institutions must be free of all symbols of religious affiliation—from Duplessis' crucifix hanging over the president's chair in the National Assembly to the hijab worn by the counter clerk at the Motor Vehicles Bureau."[27] Open secularism, by contrast, prioritizes the individual's right to freedom of conscience and religion. The state's obligation to maintain an appearance of religious neutrality, in this view, applies to government institutions, not government employees. After extensive consultation, the report recommended open secularism as the right fit for Québec, because open secularism was the type of secularism espoused during the Quiet Revolution;[28,29] the Quiet Revolution never used the principles of secularism or neutrality to restrict individual expressions of religiosity, but instead to overcome the institutional domination of the Catholic Church and to ensure freedom of conscience for the Québécois.[30]

In contrast, Bill 21 promotes strict secularism. Proponents of the Bill claim that civil servants on duty must be neutral and that the Bill will help "protect the freedom of conscience of users of public services, and especially pupils in public schools, by making sure that they are not subjected to unnecessary displays of religious publicity."[31] By instating religious neutrality in the workplace in this way, the government believes that they are creating and safeguarding a space of freedom in which no one's ideology is on display.[32] Premier François Legault defended the necessity of the Bill on the grounds that it "respects our history, our values, and... what the majority of Québécois want,"[33] referring to the history and values of the 1960s Quiet Revolution. Advocates argue that anything short of this type of strict secularism "amounts to permissiveness with regard to the encroachment of religious interests into the affairs of the government and thus, in the context of contemporary Québec, an historical step backwards."[34] From this perspective, the Bill is an attempt to reaffirm established boundaries between political and religious life — boundaries that are seemingly threatened by religious diversity. During the Quiet Revolution, the mostly homogenous Catholic population made it far easier to preach and practice open secularism than in contemporary Québec; for one, it is much less likely for an individual to appear visibly Catholic, compared to the ways in which one can appear visibly Muslim or Sikh. Wearing a cross as a Catholic may be a religious statement, but it is not religiously mandated. To understand Bill 21 as a reaction to the phenomenon of religious diversity, we must return to the historical context of the boundaries and limits to the expression of religiosity in political life. Québécois nationalism was the Québécois view that any divergence from secular norms acted as a threat to the continued existence of their culture and language. It has been argued that this crisis of perception is tied to "the insecurity of members of the minority group, which has been an invariant in the history of French-speak-

ing Quebec."[35] In other words, the negative view of accommodations is tied to fears about the eventual disappearance of the French language and of Québécois society. There is a widespread "feeling that there has been a loss of reference points"[36] as to Québec identity and the project of Québec sovereignty. For those in favour of Bill 21, reaffirming and strengthening the laïcité of the state is tantamount to preserving Québécois culture.

The idea that espousing strict secularism would serve to protect the Québécois culture is based on the State's understanding of religion as culture, and as something divorced from other modes of existence.[37] In 1996, for his last major address, Cardinal Joseph Bernardin of Chicago spoke to Georgetown University about the role of religion in American society. Reflecting on this address, Jean Bethke Elstain explains that Cardinal Joseph Bernardin "pointed out the incoherence of claiming to respect religious belief while insisting that people keep it to themselves - precisely what a devout person cannot be expected to do."[38] The cardinal argued that because religious faith is constituted in a form of public membership, it cannot be considered to be a private matter and thus persons of faith cannot, and should not, be expected to conceal their beliefs when they enter the public square.[39] Further, Elstain explains that the Cardinal insisted that "the logic of church-state separation not be extended to encompass religion and politics in the realm of civil society".[40] If Québec wishes to integrate immigrants into society and have them subscribe to Québec nationalism, their religious freedom must be respected. Michael McConnell, one of the United States' leading constitutional scholars of the free exercise of religion,[41] has stated that if religious freedom means "nothing more than that religion should be free so long as it is irrelevant to the state, it does not mean very much."[42] In the same vein as these sentiments, Bouchard and Taylor argue in the Bouchard-Taylor report that religious accommodation in Québec would facilitate integration and social cohesion, which would ultimately better support Québec's desire to protect their culture. Their rationale for this was that immigrants and other minorities would be far more likely to align themselves with a culture and society where they feel accepted. Thus, inequality and discrimination should be avoided — meaning the state should not forbid public servants from wearing religious symbols — to better bolster Québécois culture.[43]

The Bouchard-Taylor report also calls on Québécois to reject this "scenario of inevitable disappearance" and learn that their anxieties about their language have repercussions on others, so as to be able to not give in to fear and the temptation to reject difference.[44] Finally, Bouchard and Taylor argue that the Québécois must not let their hostility toward their Catholic past inform their understanding of other religions.[45] As Peter Sutherland, President of the Montreal Teachers Association points out, "Not once have I been made aware of a complaint regarding a teacher wearing a religious symbol and any effect (perceived or real) on their professionalism."[46]

Through an analysis of the history of laicization in Québec, it is possible to understand that Québécois nationalism is inextricable from the values of laïcité due to its historical foundation — a secular cultural revolution.[47] However, the claim

that Bill 21 embodies the secular spirit of the Quiet Revolution is an oversimplification: the form of secularism promoted at the time was open secularism, not the strict secularism promoted by Bill 21. Ultimately, Bill 21 is a reactionary attempt to reaffirm the laïcité of the state. The Québécois view themselves and their culture as marginalized in an otherwise anglophone country,[48] and thus seek to solidify Québécois nationalism against the perceived threat of provincial religious diversity and federal anglophone dominance.[49] The bill, however, attempts to curtail a problem that does not exist, and does little to truly preserve the Québécois identity. As suggested by Bouchard and Taylor, open secularism would better maintain this identity by making new immigrants and non-Catholics more comfortable with aligning themselves with the Québécois identity.[50] Bill 21's strict secularism would ironically discriminate people on the basis of religious practice — making it anything but religiously neutral.[51]

Notes

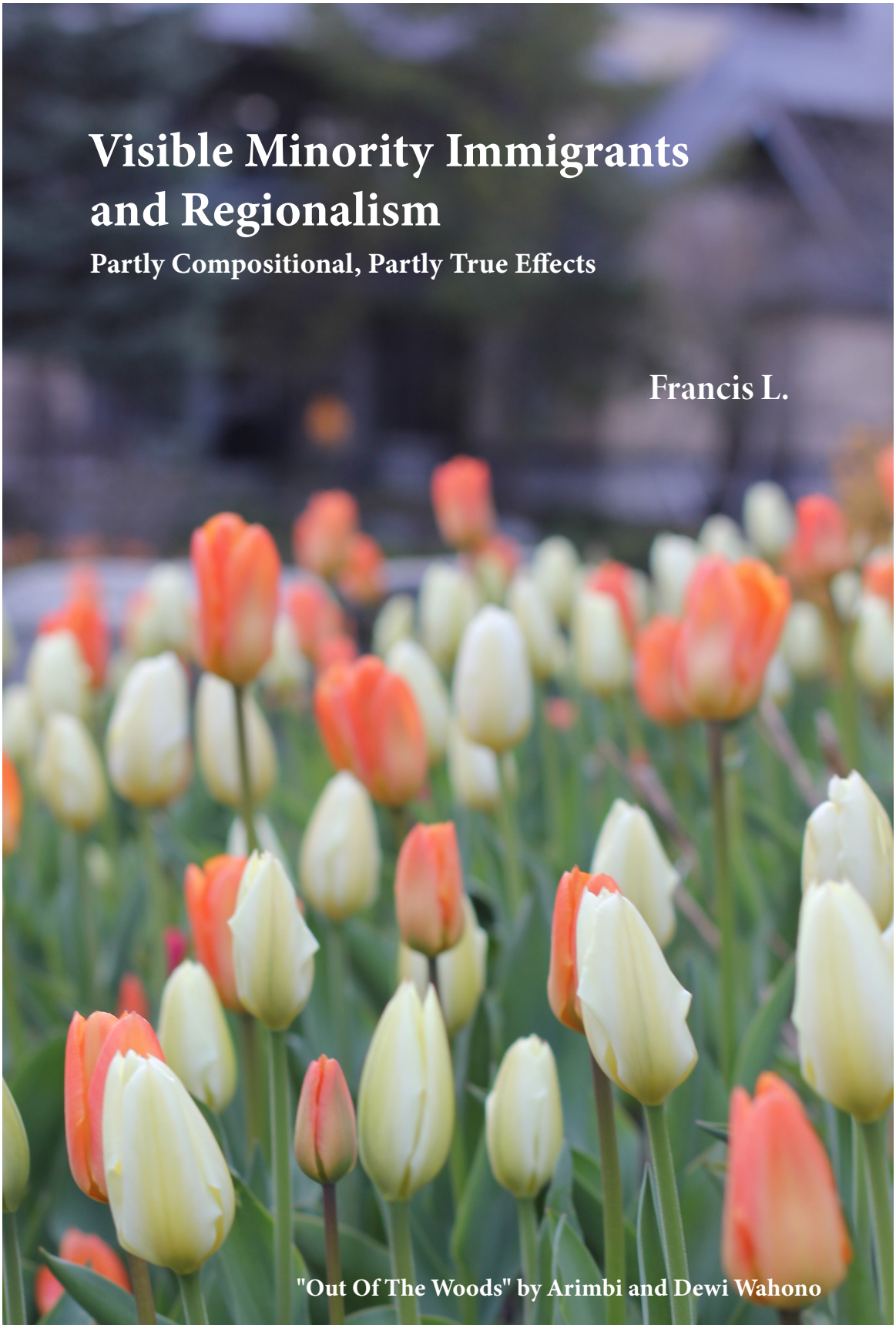
1. Bill 21, An Act respecting the laicity of the State, 42nd Legislature, 1st Session, 2019.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid*, 2.
4. Henri Ouellette-Vézina, "Le projet de loi sur la laïcité n'est «pas du tout raciste», martèle Jolin-Barrette," *Journal Métro* (Montreal, QC) Apr. 2, 2019. https://journalmetro.com/actualites/montreal/2301470/le-projet-de-loi-sur-la-laicite-de-letat-nest-pas-du-tout-raciste-martele-jolin-barrette/.
5. Efe Peker, "The Supposed Benefits of Quebec Secularism Bill Don't Outweigh the Costs," *National Post* (Toronto, ON), Apr. 11, 2019. https://nationalpost.com/pmn/news- pmn/the-supposed-benefits-of-quebec-secularism-bill-dont-outweigh-the-costs.
6. Geneviève Zubrzycki, "From French Canada to Québec: An Introduction", in *Beheading the Saint: Nationalism, Religion, and Secularism in Quebec* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 2.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Deirdre Meintel and Géraldine Mossière, "In the Wake of the Quiet Revolution: From Secularization to Religious Cosmopolitanism," *Anthropologica* 55, no. 1 (2013): 61.
9. Zubrzycki, *Beheading the Saint*, 3.
10. Meintel and Mossière, "In the Wake of the Quiet Revolution," 61.
11. Zubrzycki, *Beheading the Saint*, 5.
12. *Ibid*, 2.
13. *Ibid*, 6.
14. *Ibid*, 8.
15. Jerome Melancon, "Laicity and the Inherited Boundaries between Religion and Politics in Québec: Reflections after Marcel Gauchet," *Religious Studies and Theology* 34, no. 1 (2015): 87, https://proxy.library.mcgill.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/docview/1687619537?accountid=12339.
16. *Ibid*, 88.
17. *Ibid*, 86.
18. *Ibid*, 93.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Zubrzycki, *Beheading the Saint*, 8.
21."Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Quebec: The National Household Survey (NHS)," Voice of English-Speaking Quebec (VEQ), January, 2014, 1, http://www.veq.ca/wp-content/uploads/2009/01/Analysis_Immigration-in-Quebec-2014.pdf.

22. Melancon, "Laicity and the Inherited Boundaries," 92.
23. Charles Taylor and Gérard Bouchard, "Building for the Future: A Time for Reconciliation." (Report, Commission de Consultation sur les Pratiques d'Accommodement Reliées aux Différences Culturelles, 2008), 19.
24. The Canadian Human Rights Reporter Inc. (CHRR). "The Canadian Human Rights Reporter Inc. (CHRR)." Accessed December 3, 2019. http://www.cdn-hr-reporter.ca.
25. CBC News, "Quebec commission on accommodation practices to advise next month," *CBC*, Feb. 3 2008, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-commission-on-accommodation-practices-to-advise-next-month-1.760396.
26.Taylor and Bouchard, "Building for the Future," 137-138.
27. Bruce Maxwell, "Review of Le Québec En Quête de Laïcité [Quebec's Pursuit of Secularism]," *Philosophical Inquiry in Education* 20, no.1 (2012): 33, https://journals.sfu.ca/pie/index.php/pie/article/view/312/174.
28. Melancon, "Laicity and the Inherited Boundaries," 95-96.
29. Alma Mancilla, "Religion dans l'espace public et régulation politique : le parcours de la notion de laïcité dans le discours étatique québécois," *Recherches sociographiques* 52, no. 3 (2012): 789–810, https://doi.org/10.7202/1007658ar.
30. Peker, "The Supposed Benefits of Quebec Secularism Bill,".
31. David Rand, "The CAQ's Secularism Bill Is A Positive Step Forward," *CBC*, Apr. 3 2019, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/opinion-the-caq-s-%20secularism-bill-is-a-positive-step-forward-1.5082104.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Phillip Authier, "Legault Says Bill 21 Is Moderate Approach to an Old Problem," *Montreal Gazette*, Apr. 1 2019, https://montrealgazette.com/news/quebec/premier-legault-to- address-quebecers-on-secularism-sunday-at-530-p-m.
34. Maxwell, "Review of Le Québec En Quête de Laïcité," 34.
35. Melancon, "Laicity and the Inherited Boundaries," 97.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Rhoda E. Howard-Hassman, "The "Quebec Value"' Debate of 2013: Minority vs. Collective Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 40, no.1 (2018): 144-167, https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq.2018.0005.
38. Jean Bethke Elstain, "A Response to Chief Justice McLachlin" in *Recognizing Religion in a Secular Society: Essays in Pluralism, Religion, and Public Policy* ed. Douglas Farrow (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 38.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid*, 37
42. *Ibid.*
43. Melancon, "Laicity and the Inherited Boundaries," 98.
44. Taylor and Bouchard, "Building for the Future," 21.
45. Howard-Hassman, "The "Quebec Value"' Debate of 2013," 165.
46. English Montreal School Board, "Brief Presented to the Committee On Institutions Of the National Assembly of Quebec- Bill 21: An Act Respecting The Lacity Of The State," English Montreal School Board, May 2019, 6, https://az184419.vo.msecnd.net/emsb/emsb-website/en/docs/2018-2019/brief-bill-21-without-letter-eng.pdf.
47. Zubrzycki, *Beheading the Saint.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. Howard-Hassman, "The "Quebec Value"' Debate of 2013," 39-40.
50. Melancon, "Laicity and the Inherited Boundaries,".
51. The Right Honourable Beverly McLachlin, "Freedom of Religion and the Rule of Law: A Canadian Perspective" in *Recognizing Religion in a Secular Society: Essays in Pluralism, Religion, and Public Policy* ed. Douglas Farrow (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 13-34.

Visible Minority Immigrants and Regionalism

Partly Compositional, Partly True Effects

Francis L.



"Out Of The Woods" by Arimbi and Dewi Wahono

The 2019 federal election was historic for the Korean Canadian community: we elected our first ever Korean Canadian member of Parliament. Nelly Shin, an immigrant from South Korea who ran for the Conservative Party of Canada (CPC) in Port Moody-Coquitlam (a riding in Greater Vancouver), won by around 300 seats over her New Democratic challenger, flipping the seat from orange to blue.[1] After over 80 years since the first Korean immigrants arrived in Canada following World War II, this was a landmark achievement in our integration into the Canadian nation.

Interestingly though, our first Parliamentarian was a Conservative — and not a Liberal as the literature would predict. Could this be because she ran in a province where all three major parties are competitive? In other words, what is the relationship between the vote choice of visible minority immigrants and the effects of regionalism — both with regard to interprovincial differences and the urban-suburban-rural cleavage? Specifically focusing on the last two elections, I find that regionalism only partly masks compositional effects but still exerts a substantive influence on the vote choice of visible minority immigrants. In the four provinces studied in this paper — Québec, Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia — foreign-born non-white Canadians generally voted similarly to the rest of their province in both elections. However, in every province except British Columbia, a general pattern of Liberal support emerged among visible minority immigrants — showing that compositional effects may partly explain electoral outcomes in Canada; the distinctiveness of one province, where the Liberal monopoly on the non-white foreign-born vote is relatively weaker, is evidence of territorial cleavages having true effects.

Literature Review

According to the conventional wisdom of the literature, the Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) has most successfully mobilized naturalized Canadians and visible minorities. Blais, for instance, argues that racialized immigrants overwhelmingly vote for the Liberals.[2] More so than even French Canadians — the historical base of support for the natural governing party of the country — visible minority immigrants have been empirically proven to exhibit unparalleled loyalty to the party, even during the Harper decade, a period of Liberal weakness.[3] While Blais is not entirely sure why foreign-born non-white Canadians are drawn to the LPC, the literature has put forward a range of potential explanations, including socio-demographic differences, ideological differences, and the mobilization of visible minority immigrant communities.[4]

Political pundits, though, predicted that the demographic transformation experienced by Canada in the last few decades may instead benefit the Conservatives. Bricker and Ibbitson, for instance, claim that because many visible minority immigrants hold conservative views (especially on social issues), a "big shift" has been taking place: the once loyal Liberal supporters have now been increasing-

ly switching their support to the Conservatives, becoming a key segment of the new centre-right coalition that elected Harper three times.[5] The authors argue that, precisely because the post-merger Conservatives could appeal to the growing bloc of foreign-born non-white voters in a way unrivalled by their main challengers to their left, defections from the "bedrock of Liberal support" may portend a new Conservative century ahead,[6] where the CPC replaces the Liberals as the "natural governing party" of the country.

Given the reversal of Liberal fortunes from third party status to a majority government in 2015, it appears that Bricker and Ibbitson's predictions overestimated the Tories' appeal. In 2015, Trudeau drew the support of immigrant groups with a platform that directly addressed one of their key political demands — namely, family reunification for immigrants.[7] However, while visible minority immigrants still tend to support the Liberals, the electoral success achieved by a Conservative Korean Canadian MP in Vancouver may suggest that regionalism may be playing a role in the political activation of this growing bloc of voters.

The empirical evidence shows that a majority of immigrants settle in the three largest census metropolitan areas: Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.[8,9] The literature also suggests that foreign-born non-white Canadians participate in the political process at similar levels to native-born white Canadians and are generally integrated into the country.[10,11,12] Given that visible minority immigrants tend to live in certain areas of the country and are politically activated to the same degree as other Canadians, the distinct voting behaviour of Canadians across regions may mask compositional effects — namely the larger number of racialized naturalized Canadians in suburban enclaves relative to the rest of the country and in three provinces relative to the other seven.[13,14,15] On one hand, the intersectional experience of racialized immigrants due to a greater sense of insecurity of belonging may not just impact their political attitudes and preferences, but even influence their decision as to where to settle in the first place — suggesting a process of self-selection and indicating that the place of residence is not necessarily a causal factor for voting behaviour. If this is the case, we should see visible minority immigrants share common political preferences across the whole country — whether they live downtown or in the suburbs, in Toronto or Vancouver. On the other hand, regions may not be artifacts, and "true" effects may exist, as the process of socialization may lead visible minority immigrants to adapt to their political environment by adopting the partisan preferences of their neighbours.[16] What should follow from this is that the partisan preferences of visible minority immigrants should vary with where they live.

What must precede an analysis of the relationship between territorial cleavages and visible minority immigrants is a discussion of the terms. Both mainstream discourse and the political science literature has conflated visible minorities with immigrants, which is an imprecise way of describing the Canadian political landscape. While recent immigration to Canada increasingly originates from outside of Europe and many racialized Canadians were born outside the country, it remains the case that a non-negligible number of immigrants are white, and many

non-white Canadians are native-born.[17] Considering that, compared to other immigrants, non-white immigrants continue to be loyal to the LPC,[18] are a growing voting bloc in the country, and are relatively more marginalized due to their intersectional identity with race, I will focus my paper on Canadians who are both non-white and foreign-born. With regard to territorial cleavages, I will focus on two main types of regionalism analysed by the Canadian political science literature: interprovincial differences and the urban-suburban-rural cleavage.

Regionalism as a Compositional Effect?

The literature on immigrant diasporas has identified the insecurity felt by foreign-born residents of a given country. The charge of dual, divided loyalties, for instance, has historically been used to marginalize and other migrant communities.[19,20,21,22] In the Canadian case, this led to violations of the basic human rights of Japanese-Canadians and Italian-Canadians during World War II, as these minority communities were considered suspect due to their ties to enemy nations of the Canadian state.[23,24] Given the historical context of past discrimination against 'aliens' by the rest of Canadian society due to their attachments and alleged loyalties to their countries of origin, as well as the current global political environment seeing a resurgence in xenophobic and anti-immigrant sentiment, immigrants may feel insecure even in a liberal democratic society like Canada.

What is unique to immigrants of non-European origin, however, is their racialized identity — an additional layer of otherness that makes them distinct from their host society, and, in turn, less Canadian. The intersectionality of being 'alien' and non-white may differentiate the experience of visible minority immigrants from that of other foreign-born immigrants, as well as lead to a unique sense of insecurity not shared by native-born non-white Canadians.

If this is the case, we should expect non-white immigrants to politically mobilize themselves as a bloc to guard and pursue their minority interests — and the pattern of their settlement in select areas of the country may possibly follow from a perception of a need for strength through numbers. A socio-psychological feeling of vulnerability in the face of perceived or real discrimination may also lead to a process of self-selection among immigrants to more diverse neighbourhoods in cities and suburbs, as well as a socio-psychological attachment to a party they feel best represents them.

Visible minority immigrants, then, should have more in common with each other than with their neighbours, sharing political preferences regardless of where they live. In a sense, this would imply they vote as a bloc and can perhaps even act as a pivot to exert a level of political influence disproportionate to their numbers.[25] If indeed the intersectional identity of the non-white foreign-born Canadian is significant for political activation, what we would expect to see is no regional variation across provinces with regard to the political preferences of visible

minority immigrants. Specifically building from the arguments of Blais, Gidengil et al., and Harrell, I would expect racialized immigrants to support the Liberals across the board.

Regionalism as a "True" Effect?

Non-white immigrants are not a homogenous group, however. Not only do non-white foreign-born Canadians originate from diverse regimes and cultures, there is also more than one type of immigrant, including economic immigrants, refugees, and immigrants sponsored by a family member. Income, education, and religion — all factors regarded by the literature to influence vote choice — considerably vary across the country of origin and the type of immigrant. For instance, we can reasonably expect immigrants in the economic class to be more educated and affluent than refugees; this, in turn, should imply that a visible minority immigrant's political views may reflect their own personal experience with immigration. Other differences, such as the length of stay, gender, religion, and class, may further complicate the general picture of the racialized immigrant.

Regionalism may be another factor that could influence their political views. For instance, White argues, "Perhaps the growth in Liberal identification has... more to do with these settlement patterns, as successive cohorts of new immigrants have taken up residence in places where they encounter, and are influenced by, more and more people who favour the Liberals over other parties."[26] In other words, a socialization process of recent racialized immigrants in their new environment may be taking place, as the partisan identification of a given place is inherited by newcomers from the locals. Far from repudiating the view that racialized immigrants feel insecure about their Canadianness, adopting the values and preferences of the community around oneself may be a way to better integrate oneself into society at large. The unique experience conditioned by the intersectional identity of the racialized immigrant, then, can play out in more than one way.

If indeed the regional cleavage differentiates visible minority immigrants among themselves, we would expect political views of immigrants to vary with their surroundings — be it province or place of residence. Given how the literature has placed great weight on the role of territorial cleavages in Canadian politics,[27,28,29] one could reasonably expect regionalism to have "true" effects on the partisan preferences of visible minority immigrants in Canada, as well. If regions are significant and powerful predictors of electoral behaviour for white Canadians and native-born Canadians, it would be unlikely that foreign-born non-white Canadians are immune from the influence of regionalism. Regionalism can just as reasonably be expected to have a "real" effect on vote choice, as opposed to merely masking compositional effects.

Methodology

To test whether regionalism masks compositional effects in the case of visible minority immigrants, I will examine federal Canadian ridings where both the proportion of immigrants and the proportion of visible minorities are over fifty percent. Twenty of these ridings are in Greater Toronto, six in Greater Vancouver, and one in Montréal and Calgary each. While there is a lack of data regarding voters who are both non-white and foreign-born, in ridings where a majority of constituents fit into either category, it can be reasonably assumed that there must be a large number of Canadians who belong to both categories. We can reasonably conclude, then, that given the first-past-the-post electoral system, the winning candidate in these twenty-eight ridings is likely to have drawn a significant level of support from visible minority immigrants. Restricting my research to the electoral outcomes in these constituencies should allow me to analyze the partisan preferences of non-white immigrants.

I have also decided to limit my study to the past two elections. Not only was the Liberal Party unusually weak in the 2011 federal election, coming in third, but the federal electoral redistribution of 2012 following the 2011 Canadian Census led to the dissolution of old ridings and the creation of new ones, including thirteen of the ridings selected in the study. Considering that the most relevant data on ridings only pertain to the elections contested in 2015 and 2019, I have restricted my study to only the previous two elections. The most recent elections were selected because the immigration trends would suggest more racialized foreign-born Canadians can vote today than in the past.

I primarily relied on Andrew Griffith's constituency-level datasets on the proportions of immigrants and visible minorities in each riding.[30] All election-related data were sourced from Elections.ca, and I drew the province-wide demographic data from the 2016 Canadian Census — the most recent census conducted by Statistics Canada, with the most accurate comprehensive data available to approximate the demographic characteristics of voters in the last two elections.

Findings

The electoral outcomes in 2015 and 2019 confirm the general academic consensus: ridings with visible minority immigrants follow a consistent trend of supporting the Liberals. In 2015, the LPC won twenty-four out of the twenty-eight ridings, while the CPC and the New Democratic Party (NDP) won two each. In 2019, the LPC lost two of their seats (one each in Alberta and British Columbia) — both to the Conservatives.

A cursory glance at Table 1 agrees with the academic consensus. Not only is it the case that the Liberals won over three-quarters of the twenty-eight ridings in both elections, but in each of these ridings the Liberals outperformed their provincial and national averages of popular support. Constituencies with higher propor-

tions of non-white voters and foreign-born voters do tend to vote similarly.

However, because twenty of the twenty-eight ridings are in Toronto, regionalism may not be entirely irrelevant, either. While the Liberals took nineteen of the twenty in both elections, out of the other eight, the Liberals only managed to win five in 2015 and only three in 2019. Breaking down the results by province shows that the one riding in Montréal was a Liberal stronghold; the one riding in Calgary flipped from red to blue; and the remaining six in Vancouver exhibited diversity in vote choice, with all three major parties taking at least one seat in both elections.

The peculiarity of British Columbia, in general, as a province where all three major parties are competitive, may explain the vote choice of visible minority and foreign-born Vancouverites. In fact, Vancouver is the only city where the NDP found success in the ridings that were both majority immigrant and majority non-white.

The tendency of racialized voters and naturalized citizens to settle in dense clusters more in Ontario than in any other province may be another example of the regional cleavage at work. However, do visible minorities and immigrants in Ontario vote for the LPC because they live in Ontario surrounded by other Liberal supporters, or does Ontario tend to support the Liberals because of its relatively high proportion of immigrants and visible minorities? Considering that majority foreign-born and majority non-white constituencies voted for the Liberals in higher numbers relative to the provincial and national averages in both elections, it appears that the electoral trend specifically exhibited in Toronto is indeed masking the partisan preferences of the voters.

There are several outliers to the general pattern uncovered by the findings. Only one riding each in Montréal (Saint-Laurent) and Calgary (Calgary Skyview) met the two thresholds. This may be because Alberta and Québec have lower proportions of immigrants and racialized voters compared to Ontario and British Columbia. It is worth noting, though, that Saint-Laurent has been a Liberal stronghold since 1988, once the seat of former LPC leader Stéphane Dion; similar degrees of Liberal loyalty have been reflected in other Montréal constituencies with high numbers of foreign-born and non-white voters relative to the rest of the province. [31] Considering, though, that voters in Saint-Laurent supported the Liberals in greater numbers relative to the provincial average of the party's popular support, the tendency of Quebeckers, and Montrealers in particular, to support the LPC may be masking the compositional effects of immigrants and non-white voters.

Calgary Skyview, though, flipped back from Liberal to Conservative in the 2019 election, like every other riding won in Alberta by the LPC in 2015. Given the general tendency of non-white immigrants to move to the three largest cities, a riding in Calgary surprisingly met both of the thresholds — indicating that significant demographic shifts have not been experienced by only the three largest provinces.[32] Other than the high numbers of foreign-born and non-white Canadians, the riding may represent an unusual case. Besides a Liberal victory in an Albertan seat in the first place, the 2015 incumbent Darshan Kang had resigned from the Liberal cau-

cus after allegations of sexual harassment, and thus did not run for re-election.[33] As a result, the LPC may have lost favour with the constituents of Calgary-Skyview, the voters instead electing a Conservative South Asian woman, Jag Sahota, in 2019. Though the general sentiment of the province may have been an important factor, the candidate only won 52.5% of the popular vote — over 15 percentage points lower than the provincial average of Conservative support, which was 69.2%. Therefore, effects of regionalism may only partly explain the electoral outcome: the 2019 contest in this riding may have been an unusual case where different factors were at play, beyond just the regional cleavage and the partisan preferences of immigrants and visible minorities. This does not take away from the fact that the Liberals still won a seat in Alberta with many immigrants and visible minorities in 2015.

Another outlier was Markham-Unionville in Toronto, the only riding in the study that the CPC won in both elections. Created in 2004, the riding was held by a former Liberal Cabinet Minister, John McCallum, until 2015, when a part of the riding was redistributed into another constituency: Markham-Thornhill. Since McCallum ran in the new district, his 2011 CPC challenger, Bob Saroya — a Punjabi Canadian immigrant originally from India — won Markham-Unionville in 2015. This may suggest that visible minority immigrants are better able to win in ridings where they can take advantage of the "simplest shortcut of all"[34]— namely, demographic similarities. However, not only was this an exceptional case during an election where the LPC won most of the seats in Ontario, the Liberal candidate in Markham-Unionville was Bang-Gu Jiang, an immigrant woman from China. Perhaps, the intersection of gender with the experiences of a racialized 'alien' or the differences between visible minority immigrant communities may better explain the Conservatives' hold on this riding, but testing this hypothesis would require further research and different data. Tables 2 and 3 give detailed information on the electoral history of the twenty-eight ridings studied in this paper.

TABLE 1: RIDINGS OF INTEREST AND PARTY VOTE

Riding	Province	Immigrants	Visible Minority	Party, 2015	Vote, 2015	Party, 2019	Vote, 2019
AVG	*Canada*	*21.9%*	*22.3%*	*LPC*	*39.5%*	*CPC*	*34.4%*
AVG	*AB*	*21.2%*	*23.5%*	*CPC*	*59.6%*	*CPC*	*69.2%*
AVG	*BC*	*28.3%*	*30.3%*	*LPC*	*35.1%*	*CPC*	*34.0%*
AVG	*ON*	*29.1%*	*29.3%*	*LPC*	*44.8%*	*LPC*	*41.4%*
AVG	*QC*	*13.7%*	*13.0%*	*LPC*	*35.7%*	*LPC*	*34.2%*
Brampton East	ON	58.9%	90.0%	LPC	52.3%	LPC	47.4%
Brampton South	ON	50.7%	66.0%	LPC	52.1%	LPC	49.5%
Brampton West	ON	54.1%	78.7%	LPC	55.9%	LPC	53.6%
Burnaby South	BC	53.7%	68.5%	NDP	38.9%	NDP	37.5%
Calgary Skyview	AB	50.1%	69.5%	LPC	45.9%	CPC	52.5%
Don Valley East	ON	53.5%	58.4%	LPC	57.8%	LPC	59.7%
Don Valley North	ON	62.9%	70.4%	LPC	51.4%	LPC	50.3%
Etobicoke North	ON	58.0%	75.7%	LPC	62.4%	LPC	61.3%
Humber River-Black Creek	ON	58.0%	74.1%	LPC	66.9%	LPC	61.1%
Markham-Thornhill	ON	64.3%	84.8%	LPC	51.5%	LPC	53.7%
Markham-Unionville	ON	61.2%	84.0%	CPC	49.4%	CPC	49.3%
Mississauga Centre	ON	62.2%	70.0%	LPC	54.7%	LPC	55.7%
Mississauga-Erin Mills	ON	55.4%	64.1%	LPC	49.7%	LPC	53.3%
Mississauga-Malton	ON	61.0%	78.1%	LPC	59.1%	LPC	57.4%
Richmond Centre	BC	62.8%	77.8%	CPC	44.2%	CPC	49.3%
Richmond Hill	ON	60.1%	61.0%	LPC	46.9%	LPC	43.4%
Saint-Laurent	QC	53.6%	53.4%	LPC	61.0%	LPC	58.7%
Scarborough Centre	ON	55.5%	69.8%	LPC	50.5%	LPC	55.2%
Scarborough North	ON	66.7%	92.2%	LPC	48.2%	LPC	53.5%
Scarborough-Agincourt	ON	65.8%	80.0%	LPC	49.4%	LPC	50.4%
Scarborough-Guildwood	ON	54.2%	71.2%	LPC	60.0%	LPC	61.1%
Scarborough-Rouge Park	ON	52.4%	72.4%	LPC	60.2%	LPC	62.3%
Steveston-Richmond East	BC	57.6%	74.8%	LPC	45.1%	CPC	41.8%
Surrey-Newton	BC	51.3%	76.2%	LPC	56.0%	LPC	45.1%
Vancouver Kingsway	BC	50.5%	69.7%	NDP	45.7%	NDP	48.9%
Vancouver South	BC	56.1%	79.7%	LPC	48.8%	LPC	41.1%
Willowdale	ON	60.8%	66.5%	LPC	53.4%	LPC	49.1%
York South-Weston	ON	52.2%	54.9%	LPC	46.0%	LPC	57.2%

TABLE 2: DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF MPS IN RIDINGS OF INTEREST (2015-2019)

Riding	Province	VM MP, 2015	VM MP, 2019	Immigrant MP, 2015	Immigrant MP, 2019
Brampton East	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
Brampton South	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Brampton West	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Burnaby South	BC	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
Calgary Skyview	AB	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**
Don Valley East	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Don Valley North	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Etobicoke North	ON	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**
Humber River-Black Creek	ON	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**
Markham-Thornhill	ON	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**
Markham-Unionville	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Mississauga Centre	ON	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**
Mississauga-Erin Mills	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Mississauga-Malton	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Richmond Centre	BC	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Richmond Hill	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Saint-Laurent	QC	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**
Scarborough Centre	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Scarborough North	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
Scarborough-Agincourt	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Scarborough-Guildwood	ON	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**
Scarborough-Rouge Park	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Steveston-Richmond East	BC	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**
Surrey-Newton	BC	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Vancouver Kingsway	BC	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**
Vancouver South	BC	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
Willowdale	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**
York South-Weston	ON	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**

TABLE 3: NOTES ON THE ELECTORAL HISTORY OF RIDINGS OF INTEREST

Riding	Province	LPC Hold	Riding Created in 2015	Notes
Brampton East	ON	**2015 - 2018, 2019 - Present**	**Y**	Former MP elected in 2015 resigned from the caucus due to a gambling addiction, ran as an independent MP, and lost
Brampton South	ON	**2015 - Present**	**Y**	
Brampton West	ON	**2004-2011, 2015 - Present**	**N**	Won by the CPC in 2011
Burnaby South	BC	**N/A**	**Y**	Current seat of NDP leader Jagmeet Singh
Calgary Skyview	AB	**2015-2017**	**Y**	Former MP was kicked out of the LPC caucus after credible allegations of sexual assault and resigned
Don Valley East	ON	**1993-2011, 2015 - Present**	**N**	Won by the CPC in 2011
Don Valley North	ON	**2015 - Present**	**Y**	
Etobicoke North	ON	**1988 - Present**	**N**	The current seat of Kirsty Duncan, former Minister of Science and Sport and current Deputy Leader of the Government in the House of Commons
Humber River-Black Creek	ON	**1962 - Present**	**N**	
Markham-Thornhill	ON	**2015 - Present**	**Y**	The current seat of Mary Ng, the incumbent Minister of Small Business, Export Promotion and International Trade, since 2017, the seat of former Minister of Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship John McCallum, who was later appointed the Ambassador to China in 2017
Markham-Unionville	ON	**2004-2015**	**N**	LPC stronghold from 2004 to 2015 until the current MP flipped the seat
Mississauga Centre	ON	**2015 - Present**	**Y**	the current seat of a foreign-born Muslim Arab-Canadian MP since 2015
Mississauga-Erin Mills	ON	**2015 - Present**	**Y**	
Mississauga-Malton	ON	**2015 - Present**	**Y**	
Richmond Centre	BC	**1993-2000, 2002-2008**	**N**	CPC stronghold since 2008 (LPC stronghold from 1993 to 2008, Alliance won in 2000, but the MP crossed the floor to the LPC); the current seat of Alice Wong, the former Minister of State for Seniors under Harper
Richmond Hill	ON	**2004-2011, 2015 - Present**	**N**	Won by the CPC in 2011; the current seat of Majid Jowhari, one of the first two Iranian-Canadian MPs, since 2015
Saint-Laurent	QC	**1988 - Present**	**N**	The seat of former LPC leader Stephane Dion
Scarborough Centre	ON	**1993-2011, 2015 - Present**	**N**	Won by the CPC in 2011
Scarborough North	ON	**2015 - Present**	**Y**	
Scarborough-Agincourt	ON	**1988 - Present**	**N**	
Scarborough-Guildwood	ON	**2004 - Present**	**N**	
Scarborough-Rouge Park	ON	**2015 - Present**	**Y**	
Steveston-Richmond East	BC	**2015-2019**	**Y**	2015 incumbent crossed the floor from Alliance in 2002 and lost to the CPC in 2011
Surrey-Newton	BC	**2015 - Present**	**Y**	
Vancouver Kingsway	BC	**1997-2006**	**N**	NDP stronghold since 2008
Vancouver South	BC	**2004-2011, 2015 - Present**	**N**	Won by the CPC in 2011; the seat of former BC Premier Dosanjh's seat; the current seat of Harjit Sajjan, the current Minister of Defense
Willowdale	ON	**1988-2011, 2015 - Present**	**N**	Won by the CPC in 2011; the current seat of Ali Ehsassi, one of the first two Iranian-Canadian MPs, in 2015 and 2019
York South-Weston	ON	**2000-2011, 2015-2019**	**N**	Won by the NDP in 2011; the current seat of Ahmed Hussen, the current Minister of Families, Children, and Social Development and the first Somali-Canadian MP, since 2015

Discussion

I was surprised by the general absence of an urban-suburban-rural cleavage in my findings. Interestingly, no ridings that could be defined as the inner-city core met both of my thresholds. Had I chosen less restrictive conditions, urban ridings, such as Toronto Centre or Winnipeg North, may have been included in the study. As my study was limited to the partisan preferences of visible minority immigrants, however, the lack of reliable data has made a more thorough analysis difficult.

Nevertheless, since all of the ridings in the study are suburban to some degree, I am still able to see whether an urban-suburban-rural cleavage has true regional effects and whether suburban voters indeed share similar preferences. This does not seem to be the case in Vancouver. For instance, Richmond Centre, Steveston-Richmond, and Burnaby South could all be considered suburban constituencies, but all of these ridings were won by different parties: Richmond Centre has been a Conservative stronghold since 2008, Surrey-Newton has been held by the LPC since its creation in 2015, and Burnaby South is the seat of the NDP leader Jagmeet Singh. A possible explanation for this heterogeneity may be the degree of suburbanization or variations between suburbs themselves — such as income or ethnicity. This could serve as avenues for future research. While the distinctiveness of the Vancouver ridings relative to compositionally similar ones in other provinces lends credence to the existence of provincial cleavages, the findings do not show the consistent pattern predicted by the urban-suburban-rural cleavage. Since urban Toronto ridings also voted for the LPC, similar to the suburban Toronto ridings in this study, residential zones are unlikely to have affected the vote choice of visible minority immigrants in 2015 or 2019. More complex, specific compositional effects may be uncovered if a more microscopic approach is taken with regard to the electoral behaviour of visible minority immigrants.

It is important to note that the visible minority immigrants are not a monolith. There is great heterogeneity in income, education, gender, class, and origin. For instance, the two majority Chinese Canadian ridings — Markham-Unionville in Ontario (64.5%) and Richmond Centre in British Columbia (59%)[35] — voted for the CPC in both 2015 and 2019, while the two constituencies with the highest proportions of South Asian Canadians — Brampton East in Ontario (65.9%) and Surrey-Newton (60.7%)[36]— voted for the LPC in both elections.[37] Perhaps, future research could examine the nuances of the diversity of racialized immigrant communities in Canada.

Conclusion

Canada has always been the destination for diverse waves of immigrants. Successive waves of immigration from France, the British Isles, continental Europe, and the rest of the world have shaped the political landscape of the country. Following the implementation of a merit-based points system in 1967, Canada has increasingly received immigrants from Asia and Africa.[38,39]

Due to the intersectionality of their "otherness" between race and foreignness, the added sense of insecurity felt by the growing number of non-white foreign-born Canadians may propel them to vote as a bloc, perhaps even as a pivot, to exert an influence on public policy disproportionate to their numbers. So far, this has not seemed to be the case, and compositional effects do not entirely subdue the effect of regionalism so dominant in Canadian electoral behaviour. Not only do visible minority immigrants vote differently across the country, they also do not

collectively switch from one party to the next and play the same role of kingmaker that Quebeckers once did.[40] The punditry, including Bricker and Ibbitson, may have been wrong to presume that a "big shift" of an entire demographic group would benefit the CPC for a century.

Instead, visible minority immigrants have chosen to integrate themselves into the greater Canadian community by electing one of their own to Parliament. Out of the twenty-eight ridings analyzed in this study, twenty-three were represented by an immigrant or a non-white MP at some point since 2015. The symbolic significance of visible minority and immigrant representation in Ottawa is yet another issue that merits further research.

What was significant, though, is that in 2019, my community achieved something truly special. Our first MP won in a suburban Vancouver riding. Reflecting on the literature review and the quantitative analysis I have done, much of her success as a Conservative immigrant from South Korea may have been attributed to the distinct regional character of her city and province. Yet, it is still the case that over a third of her constituents were foreign-born and almost 40% were non-white.[41] Our community may have benefitted partly from the effects of regionalism, and partly from the changing demographics of Canada.

Notes:

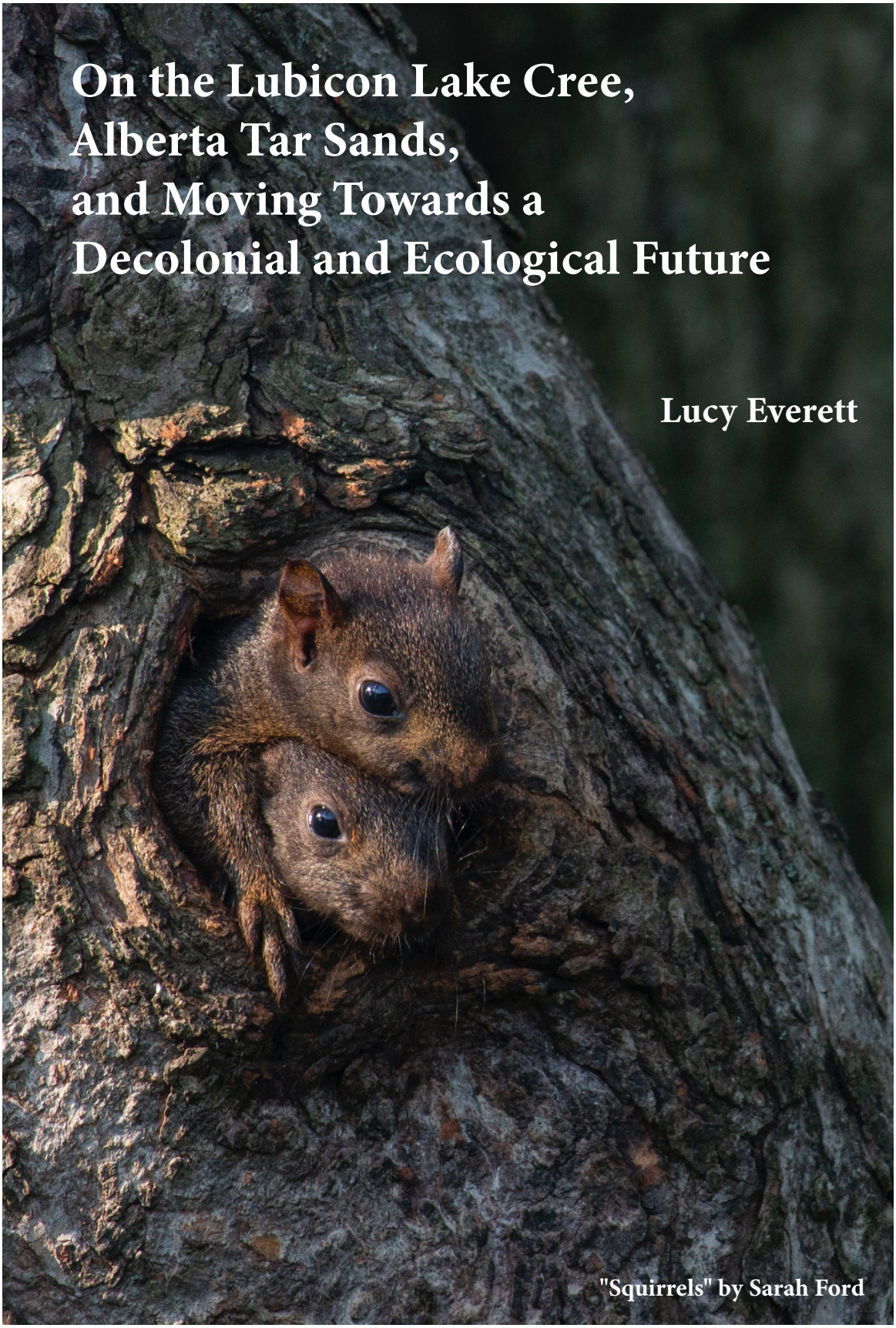
1. All election-related data were sourced from Elections Canada's website, https://www.elections.ca.
2. André Blais, "Accounting for the Electoral Success of the Liberal Party in Canada: Presidential Address to the Canadian Political Science Association, London, Ontario, June 3, 2005," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38, no. 4 (December 2005): 821-40, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25165882.
3. Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, André Blais, Joanna Everitt, and Patrick Fournier, *Dominance and Decline: Making Sense of Recent Canadian Elections* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).
4. Allison Harrell, "Revisiting the 'Ethnic' Vote: Liberal Allegiance and Vote Choice among Racialized Minorities," in *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics*, ed. Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 140-60.
5. Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson, *The Big Shift: The Seismic Change in Canadian Politics, Business, and Culture and What It Means for Our Future* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2013).
6. Gidengil et al., *Dominance and Decline*, 24.
7. Jon H. Pammett and Lawrence LeDuc, "The Fall of the Harper Dynasty," in *The Canadian Federal Election of 2015*, ed. Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan (Toronto: Dundurn, 2016), 357-79.
8. Daniel Hiebert, *Exploring Minority Enclave Areas in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver* (Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009).
9. Daniel Hiebert, "Ethnocultural Minority Enclaves in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver," *IRPP Study*, no. 52 (August 2015).
10. Jerome H. Black, "Immigrant and Minority Political Incorporation in Canada: A Review with Some Reflections on Canadian-American Comparison Possibilities," *American Behavioral Scientist* 55, no. 9 (2011): 1160-88, https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0002764211407843;

11. John C. Harles, "Immigrant Integration in Canada and the United States," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 223-58, https://doi.org/10.1080/02722010409481199
12. Vic Satzewich, "Multiculturalism, Transnationalism, and the Hijacking of Canadian Foreign Policy: A Pseudo-Problem?", *International Journal* 63, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 43-62.
13. David McGrane, Loleen Berdahl, and Scott Bell, "Moving Beyond the Urban/Rural Cleavage: Measuring Values and Policy Preferences Across Residential Zones in Canada," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 39, no. 1 (2017): 17-39, https://doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12294
14. R. Alan Walks, "Place of Residence, Party Preferences and Political Attitudes in Canadian Cities and Suburbs," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 26, no. 3 (August 2004): 269-95, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0735-2166.2004.00200.x.
15. R. Alan Walks, "The City-Suburban Cleavage in Canadian Federal Politics," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38, no. 2 (June 2005): 383-414, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423905030842.
16. Stephen E. White, "Canadian Ethnocultural Diversity and Federal Party Support: The Dynamics of Liberal Partisanship in Immigrant Communities," *American Political Science Association* 50, no. 3 (July 2017): 708-11, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096517000464.
17. "Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity: Key Results from the 2016 Census," Statistics Canada, October 25, 2017, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025b-eng.htm.
18. Richard Johnson, *The Canadian Party System: An Analytic History* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 242.
19. Ilan Zvi Baron, "The Problem of Dual Loyalty," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42, no. 4 (2009): 1025-1044.
20. Robin Cohen, "Diasporas and the Nation-State: From Victims to Challengers," *Ethnicity and International Relations* 72 no. 3 (1996): 507-30.
21. J. L. Granatstein, "Multiculturalism and Canadian Foreign Policy," in *The World in Canada: Diaspora, Demography, and Domestic Politics* eds. David Carmet and David Bercuson (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).
22. Satzewich, "Multiculturalism."
23. Thomas R. Berger, *Fragile Freedoms* (Toronto, ON: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1981).
24. Evelyne Messa and Morton Weinfeld, "We Needed to Prove We Were Good Canadians: Contrasting Paradigms for Suspect Minorities," *Canadian Journal for Social Research* 3 no. 1 (2010): 15-27.
25. Johnston, *Canadian Party System*, 65.
26. White, "Canadian Ethnocultural Diversity," 709.
27. Cameron Anderson, "Regional Heterogeneity and Policy Preferences in Canada, 1979-2006," *Regional and Federal Studies* 20 no. 4-5 (October-December 2010): 447-68, https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2010.523620.
28. David J. Elkins and Richard Simeon, *Small Worlds: Provinces and Parties in Canadian Political Life* (Toronto, ON: Methuen Publications, 1980).
29. Ailsa Henderson, "Why Regions Matter: Sub-state Polities in Comparative Perspective," *Regional and Federal Studies* 20, no. 4-5 (October-December 2010): 439-45, https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2010.523619.
30. Andrew Griffith, "South Asian Population Greater than 10 Percent," Multicultural Meanderings: Working Site on Citizenship and Multiculturalism Issues, accessed November 28, 2019, https://multiculturalmeanderings.files.wordpress.com/2019/05/vm-ridings-south-asian-10-percent.pdf.
31. Andrew Griffith, "Top Ridings by Group," Multicultural Meanderings: Working Site on Citizenship and Multiculturalism Issues, accessed November 28, 2019, https://multiculturalmeanderings.com/riding-profiles/top-ridings-by-group/.
32. "Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity," Statistic Canada.

33. Scott Dippel, "Investigation Finds Calgary MP Darshan Kang Violated Harassment Rules," *CBC*, Mar. 2, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/darshan-kang-harassment-mp-investigation-1.4558619.
34. Fred Cutler, "The Simplest Shortcut of All: Sociodemographic Characteristics and Electoral Choice," *The Journal of Politics* 64, no. 2 (May 2002): 466-90, https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2508.00135.
35. Andrew Griffith , "Chinese population greater than 10 percent", Multicultural Meanderings: Working Site on Citizenship and Multiculturalism Issues, accessed November 28, 2019, https://multiculturalmeanderings.files.wordpress.com/2019/05/vm-ridings-chinese-10-percent.pdf.
36. Griffith, "South Asian Population Greater than 10 Percent."
37. Griffith, "Top Ridings by Group."
38. White, "Canadian Ethnocultural Diversity and Federal Party Support."
39. "Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity," Statistics Canada.
40. Johnston, *Canadian Party Systems*, 48-65.
41. "Census Profile, 2016 Census: Port Moody--Coquitlam [Federal electoral district], British Columbia and Canada [Country]," Statistics Canada, accessed November 28, 2019, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/censusrecensement/2016/dppd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=FED&Code1=59023&Geo2=PR&Code2=59&SearchText=59023&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=3&type=0.

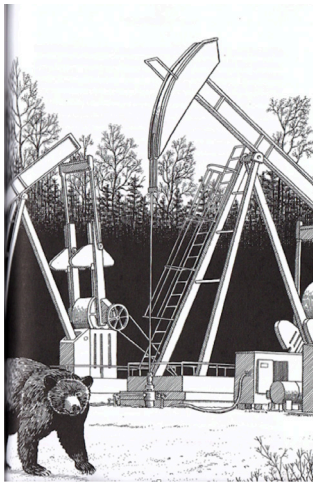
On the Lubicon Lake Cree, Alberta Tar Sands, and Moving Towards a Decolonial and Ecological Future

Lucy Everett



"Squirrels" by Sarah Ford

Introduction

 [1]

Prior to the colonization of Turtle Island, there existed hundreds of diverse Indigenous nations with their own unique institutions of governance, culture, international diplomacy and trade, and environmental stewardship. The common thread that brings these diverse Indigenous nations together in the context of colonization is the phenomenon of stolen land and territory. Across so-called Canada since Confederation in 1867, there has been a creatively genocidal variety of legal, political, and socioeconomic maneuvers to dispossess Indigenous people from their land, enabling the extraction of what represents valuable economic resources in the eyes of settlers, but what is kin to the land's Indigenous inhabitants. This paradigm of exploitation has made Canada relatively wealthy, but the benefits of extraction disproportionately accrue to the settler population, while the First Peoples of this land suffer from the drastic impacts of environmental and cultural destruction. The power asymmetry entrenched in the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the colonial state makes recourse for the destruction of life resulting from resource extraction difficult to achieve, never mind the possibility of ending the destruction itself. One of the many disheartening examples of this phenomenon is the Lubicon Lake Cree Nation, whose traditional unceded territory contains large amounts of bituminous oil.

This paper will begin by discussing the history of the Lubicon Lake Cree Nation and their land in Little Buffalo. I will then describe how tar sands development has prompted resistance amongst the Lubicon, followed by a discussion of their demands and how the Canadian government and industry has routinely ignored them. This case study highlights the underpinning dynamics of colonialism and capitalism embodied in Western notions of progress and development, and the consequences for Indigenous peoples as a result of decades of the "externalities" associated with these processes and projects being inflicted upon their bodies and lands.

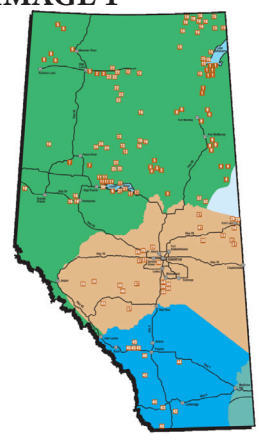
Ultimately, by examining occupied Lubicon territory in the tar sands as a microcosm of a continuous pattern of behavior in Canada, this paper shows how climate change inaction in Canada is not the result of some universal "human nature," but rather, the result of a specific set of colonially-imposed, Western political, economic, and social institutions. Through the Western conceptualization of land as resources to be owned and exploited rather than the Indigenous conceptualization of land as kin to which one has stewardship obligations, as well as the imposition of this concept across the country through the employment of state violence, the colonial project has destroyed subaltern ontologies and a web of

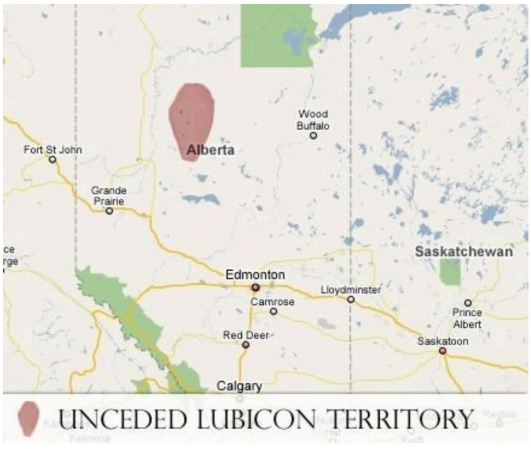
ecological relationships that flourished amongst Indigenous nations across Turtle Island in pre-colonial times. The political, economic, and social transformations now necessary to combat the climate crisis in so-called Canada must prioritize Indigenous sovereignty and embody an Indigenous ethic of relationality if we wish to approach these unavoidable transformations in ways that are just, meaningful, and ecologically sound. Failing to account for Canada's colonial history in our attempt to combat the climate crisis will not only ensure a greenwashed continuation of colonial violence, but is also likely to result in the continued extraction of fossil fuel resources past a point where future generations will be able to live secure and fulfilling lives.

Historical Background of the Lubicon Lake Cree

The Lubicon Lake Cree are an Indigenous people that have lived on approximately 10,000 square kilometres of land known as Little Buffalo since time immemorial, situated north of Lesser Slave Lake and in between the Wabasca and Peace rivers in what is now known as Northern Alberta. This region is known as the Boreal, which local community activist Melina Laboucan-Massimo describes as "the northern lungs of mother earth where we get our clean air."[2] The boreal has vast expanses of *muskeg*, meaning "grassy bog" in Cree; it is a swampy and important carbon sink of peat moss deposits that is essential to many integral ecological functions. This is where the Lubicon acquire their drinking water, apart from nearby lakes and streams.[3] Like other Cree and many other prairie Indigenous nations, the Lubicon have been hunting, fishing, and trapping on their territory since "long before the creation of Canada," meaning their socio-cultural identity is deeply tied to their physical territory.

IMAGE 1





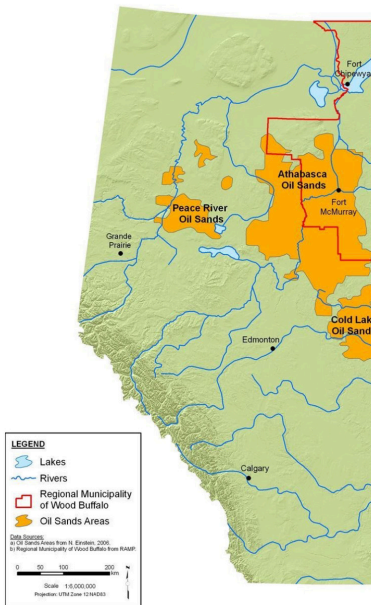
LEFT IMAGE: Map of Alberta treaties, with Treaty 8 Territory in green at the top.
(Photo source: https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100020670/1100100020675).

RIGHT IMAGE: Unceded Lubicon territory in Northern Alberta, overlapping with Treaty 8 Territory.
(Photo source: https://intercontinentalcry.org/alberta-chiefs-unanimously-support-the-lubicon/)

History of Extractive Development and Resistance on Lubicon Territory

The Lubicon were initially overlooked by the Federal Indian Agents that swept through Northern Alberta at the end of the 19th century, and thus never signed Treaty 8 in 1899 unlike other nearby Indigenous nations, despite the treaty claiming Canadian jurisdiction over all of their traditional territory (see Image 1). After the Second World War, the Lubicon were "discovered" by the state; as such, the Canadian government promised them a reserve, though this promise never materialized.[4] According to the Lubicon website, they have never surrendered nor ceded their land to Canada, and their nation "maintains jurisdiction over, authority for, and autonomy of [their] Traditional Territory, Nation, and peoples."[5] However, since oil was discovered on their territory in 1952, both federal and provincial governments have engaged in various judicial, administrative, security, and economic measures to remove the Lubicon from their land, without success.[6] There are approximately five hundred Lubicon Cree that remain on their land, who have proven to be "relentless, sophisticated, and determined opponents to both the petro-state and capital since oil was discovered on their territory," providing just one example of an international growing force of Indigenous resilience and resurgence.[7]

IMAGE 2



LEFT IMAGE: Map of Alberta treaties, with Treaty 8 Territory in green at the top.
(Photo source: https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100020670/1100100020675).

RIGHT IMAGE: Unceded Lubicon territory in Northern Alberta, overlapping with Treaty 8 Territory.
(Photo source: https://intercontinentalcry.org/alberta-chiefs-unanimously-support-the-lubicon/)

The tar sands cover 140,000 square kilometres of traditional Cree, Dene, Chipewyan, and Métis territory in what is now known as Northern Alberta (see image 2).[8] Canada has the world's third largest oil reserves, with 173 billion untapped barrels confirmed; a staggering 98% of these reserves are found in the Albertan tar

sands.[9] Greenhouse gas emissions from the tar sands have increased 267% since 1990 and contribute to about 7% of Canada's total emissions.[10] If Alberta was its own country, it would have the highest greenhouse gas emissions per capita in the whole world, amounting to 69 tonnes per person (compared to the current front-runner, Qatar, which emits 48.8 tonnes per person).[11] Canada as a whole currently has the highest per capita greenhouse gas emissions out of all of the G20 countries, in large part due to the energy required to refine and transport low-EROI (Energy Return On Investment) bitumen from the tar sands.[12]

Unconventional oil extraction methods, which includes the oil sands as well as surface shales and hydraulic fracturing, provides between 2 to 7% of Canada's GDP (depending on which indirectly related productive activities one considers, such as manufacturing or finance related to the tar sands).[13] Tar sands oil is not conventional liquid crude oil, but rather, a mix of sand, water, clay, and bitumen that must be separated and processed – bitumen is the sought-after ingredient. The process of extracting bituminous oil from sand and clay is much more energy- and water-intensive than extracting oil from underground reservoirs, and the water used to extract the bitumen becomes indescribably toxic to many forms of life. This water is discarded in what are known as tail ponds, which in northern Alberta are larger than England and Wales combined and can be seen from outer space.[14] This toxic water regularly spills into the nearby watersheds, rivers, and streams upon which Indigenous peoples and local ecosystems rely.[15]

Oil was discovered on Lubicon territory in 1952, but the territory's remoteness and lack of roads kept industrial activity to a minimum until 1979, when an all-weather road was completed and resource exploitation activity exploded.[16] In 1982, the Lubicon applied for an emergency court injunction to prevent further resource extraction on their land, which was denied by a provincial judge (previously an oil company lawyer) fourteen months later, who declared that "the evidence simply does not establish [that] a way of life... is being destroyed by the oil companies and province."[17] The international community disagreed: in 1983, the World Council of Churches concluded in a report that the "government [of Canada] and multinational oil companies have taken actions that could have genocidal consequences."[18] This was ignored.

The main cultural event of the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary was at the Calgary Glenbow Museum entitled "Forget Not My World," showcasing "North American Indigenous artifacts," sponsored by Shell and other oil companies.[19] One of the supporters of the exhibit had been quoted as saying that he "preferred to see Indians in display cases rather than in boardrooms making policy."[20] The Lubicon launched a boycott of the Olympics, prompting thirty museums worldwide to refuse to lend artifacts to the Glenbow Museum, bringing international attention to the Lubicon struggle.[21] The following year, the United Nations Human Rights Committee (UNHRC) found that the Lubicon "cannot achieve effective legal or political redress in Canada" and instructed Canada to "do no further irreparable damage to the Lubicon pending a hearing of human rights violations," yet once again, Canada ignored the ruling.[22]

Frustrated by continued extraction and insincerity on behalf of the Crown, in 1988 the Lubicon formally withdrew from land negotiations that had been ongoing in the Canadian courts since 1974, claiming that they had "lost all confidence in the ability or inclination of the Canadian courts to compel the Canadian government to obey its own laws."[23] By declaring sovereignty over their territory and blockading the all-weather road, the Lubicon stalled extraction activity on their territory for six days. The Alberta government rushed in with "overwhelming force," sending in heavily armed RCMP, helicopters, and attack dogs, forcibly dismantling the blockade and arresting twenty-seven Lubicon and four supporters.[24] However, this blockade prompted Don Getty, then-Alberta Premier, to finally meet with the Lubicon. The meeting resulted in the Grimshaw Accord, which was a temporary agreement that lasted until 1995, granting the Lubicon a reserve of only 246 square kilometres, a fraction of their traditional territory.[25]

The Olympics boycott prompted then-Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to meet with Lubicon Chief Bernard Ominayak in 1988, as Mulroney was in the midst of a re-election campaign and wanted to avoid "significant Lubicon demonstrations along the campaign trail."[26] They agreed to negotiations on November 29, 1988, which collapsed on January 24, 1989, promptly after Mulroney was re-elected. The federal government had essentially given the Lubicon a take-it-or-leave-it settlement offer which they knew would be rejected, as it contained no provision for the Lubicon to become economically self-sufficient.[27] Following the collapse of negotiations, the Mulroney government launched an international propaganda campaign against the Lubicon people entitled "Greed not Need," designed to discredit the Lubicon leadership and cause.[28] The Mulroney government also tried and failed to overthrow the elected Lubicon leadership, whereby "federal officials hobble[d] this group of disparate individuals into a new pretend Indian Band called the Woodland Cree Band."[29] The Canadian government then hired a lawyer to represent the Woodland Cree band, negotiated a land settlement agreement with the lawyer, and subsequently claimed that the Lubicon had ceded their land rights to the Crown.[30]

The Lubicon fight was not just confined to the domestic political stage, but made international headlines as well. In 1990, the UNHRC found Canada in violation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights over its treatment of the Lubicon people, to which the federal Indian Affairs Minister Tom Siddon responded that the complaint was "totally without substance" and that any obligation to the Lubicon held by the Canadian government was "more than met" in the 1989 take-it-or-leave-it deal.[31] Siddon's response embodies the fallacious nature of the government's negotiations with Indigenous nations in Canada, which has changed in nature over time but remains fundamentally the same process: the Canadian government either follows the bare minimum of its own law (to say nothing of following Indigenous law), in letter but not in spirit, or wholly ignores it altogether and relies on the manipulation of the courts, use of injunctions, and public apathy to continue to seize Indigenous land. The Canadian government is never willing to venture into discussion about the actual recognition of Indigenous sovereignty and rights and title as defined by Indigenous people; rather, Canada "tables a non-nego-

tiable position that [the Canadian government alone] unilaterally deems to be 'fair and reasonable,' and the Lubicon either accept the Canadian position or the negotiations end."[32] The imbalance of power that plague these so-called negotiations, whereby the Lubicon first must cede their land rights and then try to negotiate key settlement terms later, cannot be commensurate with concepts of consent and nation-to-nation relationships.

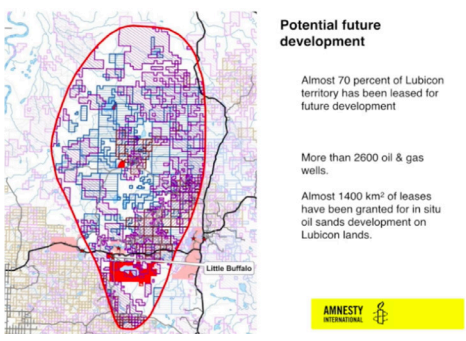
In 1994, the Lubicon led a high-profile boycott of the Japanese paper product company Daishowa, which had illegally started logging on Lubicon territory without waiting for a land claim settlement. Forty-seven companies representing 4,300 retailers supported the boycott, and Daishowa finally agreed four years later to not log or buy wood cut on Lubicon land until the land claim was settled.[33] The boycott was subsequently called off by the Lubicon.

In 2006, a leak in the Rainbow Pipeline (owned by Plains Midstream Canada) spilled 1,260 cubic metres of crude oil into Lubicon territory.[34] In April 2011, the same Rainbow Pipeline burst on Lubicon territory and caused one of the largest oil spills in Alberta's history, spewing 4.5 million litres of crude oil into the ecosystem, the majority of which was absorbed by the muskeg. This is especially problematic, because the muskeg is a "living, breathing ecosystem that supports life" for the Lubicon people, rather than the "stagnant" and isolated water that the government tries to paint it as when events like these inevitably happen due to the high probability of spills associated with pipeline activity.[35]

In short, there have been about four decades of incredibly destructive oil and gas developments on Lubicon territory without the consent of the Lubicon people, and the Canadian government has consistently sided with the interests of the extractive industry. The province of Alberta has licensed more than 2,600 oil and gas wells on Lubicon territory, amounting to more than five wells for every Lubicon person, and a total of 2,400 kilometres of oil and gas pipelines crossing through their land.[36] The government of Alberta has leased approximately 70% of Lubicon territory to extractive companies, despite the fact that the territory remains unceded (see image 3).[37]

IMAGE 3

Planned oil sands expansion on Lubicon territory.
(Photo source: https://vimeo.com/212154255.)



Despite decades of incessant exploitation at the hands of the Canadian government of Lubicon land, the Lubicon remain fiercely and consistently resis-

tant to extractive development on their territory. For many Indigenous peoples, it is their Creator-given responsibility to be stewards of their land and to engage in mutually reciprocal relationships with all of the non-human world. The land is kin, and attacking the land will always prompt resistance from Indigenous peoples who wish to protect it.

Consequences of Tar Sands Development on the Lubicon People

While many people may be aware of the more acute environmental impacts of oil sands development, such as biodiversity loss, fewer are aware of how Indigenous kinship networks and relationships to the land and water that support Indigenous peoples have been destroyed by decades of development, and the specific impacts that this has on Indigenous lives. The impacts of tar sands development for the Lubicon include: destroying the community's ability to provide for itself, thus creating dependence on the colonial state; drastic human health consequences; an inability to access clean water; and a decrease in many of the species on which the Lubicon rely and engage in reciprocity with. Dispossessing Indigenous peoples from their territory to access resources thus does not simply result in environmental destruction, but ontological, cultural, and genocidal violence.

The construction of roads for industrial purposes in the mid-20th century often crossed the registered traplines of Lubicon men, not only destroying a regular source of fur which they could sell or trade for livelihood support, but also an important cultural practice.[37] Smith articulates the larger problem with the destruction of Indigenous land associated with the development of so many new "private roads" on Lubicon territory in the 1980s:

> The subsistence base and the fur resources were suddenly and catastrophically destroyed. The resources of the modern social welfare state could replace the physical necessities of life. But not all the social welfare services of an oil-rich province or of the industrial Canadian state could replace human dignity or the status of being a self-supporting family head and a man or woman of standing. *The government's services could not replace an autonomous social and cultural system in which the individual found meaning and satisfaction.* Without the environmental resources of the past, the men and women cannot teach children the knowledge and skills of their culture; in the isolation of the hinterland Elders do not have the knowledge, skills and resources to help the young generation adapt to modern industrial society. The generation gap has become a cultural gap: *young people are neither adapted to the past nor to the future.*[39]

In the mid-1980s, there was an explosion of health problems related to resource extraction amongst the Lubicon population. Cancer rates soared (an incidence which is mirrored in many other Northern Alberta Indigenous communities), an outbreak of tuberculosis affected one-third of the Lubicon residents, reproductive problems resulted in 19 stillbirths out of 21 pregnancies over 21 months, skin rashes were so bad that they caused permanent scarring, and the Lubicon dealt with serious respiratory problems, including "near-epidemic asthma."[40] Melina

Laboucan-Massimo sums up the contemporary crisis faced by the Lubicon nation:

> What we see is an indigenous way of life being overshadowed by intensive oil and gas development. We see where there once was self-sufficiency in the community, in the region, you know, because there was clean air, clean water, medicine, berries, plants from the boreal, you see this changing with an increased dependency on social services because families are not able to sustain themselves in what was once a healthy environment. What else we see are health concerns, respiratory illnesses, because of the noxious gases that are being released into the air and water, we see in the north elevated rates of cancers and then also lack of medical services... Almost $14 billion has been taken out of our traditional territories in revenue for oil and gas companies, and yet the resources don't go back into the community and you know, this is very much so a symptomatic problem that you see happening in a lot of indigenous communities across Canada... It's very much so a crisis situation. [41]

As Miloon Kothari describes, "[the Lubicon] community lives in extreme poverty and still lacks basic medical services and running water."[42] In 2008, Chief Ominayak wrote a letter to then-Minister of Indian Affairs Chuck Strahl entitled "About the deplorable water quality in aboriginal communities including Lubicon":

> We have no water and sewer system at all. Despite the fact that our traditional hunting and trapping economy has been destroyed by resource exploitation activity and many of our people have been forced onto welfare and don't own vehicles, our people have to somehow arrange to go over 100 kilometers one way in order to buy bottled drinking water. Bottled drinking water costs $5 for 22 liters. Gas to make the return trip costs $100. Welfare rates are $234 a month for a single individual... The Lubicon people know other Aboriginal people in Canada face terrible problems. We have never asked to be put ahead of anybody or complained about the services available to anybody else. However we are the only status Indian people in Alberta with no water and sewer system at all, and we are maybe the only status Indian people in Canada with no water and sewer system at all, and we do think the particular situation of the Lubicon people merits mention in a report on water quality in aboriginal communities and reserves in Canada.[43]

As a consequence of large-scale oil and gas developments on Lubicon land, oil spills have infiltrated the Lubicon Nation's muskeg ecosystems, preventing access to their traditional source of freshwater.[44] Eleven million litres of toxic waste now spills into the Athabasca River per day, flowing downstream from the industrial site to Indigenous territories, causing rare forms of cancer in local populations as well as physical abnormalities in the fish and game upon which these communities rely.[45] For example, there has been a 74% decline in local caribou populations since 1998 due to tar sands extraction, and the population is expected to be locally extinct by 2040.[46] There are now 23 times the amount of toxic hydrocarbons in nearby lakes compared to before the oil sands were built.[47] Veronica Laboucan-Massimo, a resident of Little Buffalo, describes the "fear in the community about air quality, how people are afraid of the fumes, of whether the wild game is safe to eat."[48] The community now has to rely on bottled water, as the land that they live on has become poisonous. Laboucan-Massimo comments that "it's really intense to see the changing of the landscape."[49]

It is worth reiterating that the cultural and spiritual implications of these consequences are far more significant for Indigenous peoples like the Lubicon than they may be for the majority of settler-Canadians living in urban centres. Indigenous notions of relationality and kinship extend to the non-human world; when Indigenous people say they are "related" to the waters and wildlife, it is not a metaphor, but a reflection of their ontological environmental reality rooted in notions of holism and circularity, rather than separation and hierarchy. The destruction of various species of flora and fauna in Lubicon territory as a result of tar sands extraction, which some may consider "ecocide," is more seriously congruent with the term "genocide" from an Indigenous worldview.

Demands from the Lubicon People

With regard to ameliorating the various problems faced by Indigenous peoples, it is crucial to listen to the people on the front lines with lived experiences about what the causes of the problems are, as well as what meaningful solutions look like. There are various opinions about how to solve problems disproportionately faced by Indigenous communities, including housing shortages, poisoned water, lack of healthcare services, and the like, and ranging from a focus on sovereignty (i.e. giving the land back to Indigenous peoples) to a focus on assimilation to (i.e. economic development projects that claim to provide financial benefits to communities). It is important to recognize the positionality of those discussing certain solutions, and honouring the fact that Indigenous peoples on the front lines, like the Lubicon, have a better understanding of the nuances of the crises faced by their people than non-Indigenous peoples ever could. Part of the colonial project has been the privileging of certain (Western) forms of knowledge and ontology, while other (Indigenous) forms are deemed illegitimate and "uncivilized," leading to catastrophic impacts on Indigenous communities (see Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). Part of the decolonial project therefore necessarily involves a reorientation of epistemologies, listening to and honouring Indigenous knowledge and leadership rather than defining the problems and solutions from an outsider perspective. It is from this point that I depart to discuss the demands made from the Lubicon people themselves with regard to the impacts of tar sands exploitation in their unceded territory.

Melina Laboucan-Massimo is a prominent young Lubicon anti-tar sands activist, as well as a climate and energy campaigner with Greenpeace. In 2012, she testified before the US Congress about the impacts of oil sands extraction on her community and what the expansion of the Keystone XL pipeline would mean for them.[50] She has also been active with the Divest movement: between 2008 and 2011, she infiltrated shareholder meetings at BP and Shell to ask questions about the oil sands that the industry almost always suppresses, aiming to convince shareholders to sell their investments in the destructive and colonial fossil fuel corporations.[51] To contextualize the tar sands in both the Truth and Reconciliation Report

(TRC) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP), she posits: "How can we reconcile when there are ongoing grievances still happening today?"[52] This is rhetorical, of course, because reconciliation and the continued colonial expansion of the tar sands at the expense of Indigenous lives and livelihoods are necessarily irreconcilable. Article 27 of UNDRIP mandates that states recognize Indigenous peoples' laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems pertaining to their lands, territories and resources. Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) is outlined in Article 32, which means that according to international law, while "Indigenous communities [must] be informed prior to resource extraction taking place on their homelands... it also means that we have the ability to say no."[53] In the Alberta tar sands, FPIC is treated as optional or non-existent. Canada is a signatory to UNDRIP but consistently violates it, in Lubicon territory and elsewhere. Oil and gas companies do not have the FPIC of the Lubicon, yet extractive projects on their unceded territory are continually approved by the Canadian and Albertan governments.

Other young Lubicon people have expressed their frustration with the government and oil industry. Wade Seeseequon, age fifteen, says: "I don't know who gave them permission to take the oil, but what I do know is it would be nice if they gave us jobs after the oil spill, you know, like paying jobs, you know, to help us help ourselves sort of thing."[54] Elliott Whitehead, age 16, echoes this sentiment: "I think they should let some youth clean up the spill and pay us real amounts of money since we're so concerned about it."[55] Evidently, the environmental destruction coupled with impoverished reserve conditions creates synergizing anxieties for the Lubicon youth.

"Sustainable Development," a concept first introduced by the Brundtland Report of 1987, posits a win-win situation between economic growth and environmental conservation as the guiding paradigm for meaningful action to tackle climate change on the international stage. It claims that sustainability and development are no longer in tension with each other as they have been historically — rather, with reformed business practices, we can continue to enjoy today's standards of living while not jeopardizing the livelihoods of future generations; capitalism remains the solution, rather than the problem. However, far from being a neutral or win-win solution, many of the tenets of "sustainable development" most certainly still create winners and losers, with the losers being those living on the frontiers of resource extraction that fuel the development side of the equation. Sustainable development, as a growth-oriented agenda, enables fossil fuel companies to continue business-as-usual for the most part and thus conflicts with both bio- and geo-physical limits, as well as Indigenous conceptions of autonomy, sovereignty, and relationality. To illustrate this point, one can examine TransCanada's presence on the Dow Jones Sustainability Index despite their actions on Lubicon territory. The Dow Jones Sustainability Index tracks the stock performance of the world's leading companies in terms of "economic, environmental and social criteria," supposedly motivating companies to green their business practices.[56] Chief Ominayak wrote a letter in 2008 calling upon people to write to the investment analysts who develop

the Dow Jones Sustainability Index (DJSI) to remove TransCanada from this list, given the blatant economic, environmental, and social impacts of tar sands extraction in Lubicon territory. However, attempting to persuade the DJSI was futile: in 2016, the company was awarded first place across indices worldwide in the oil and gas industry, showing how the evidently destructive practices of TransCanada are (mis)interpreted as socially and environmentally sustainable when evaluated within a narrow paradigm of "sustainable development." This example highlights the tension between any form of capitalism, whether it is proclaimed "sustainable" or not, and Indigenous ways of life; the hierarchy and exploitation encoded within the capitalist economy is fundamentally incongruent with Indigenous notions of relationality and community. The Lubicon message to the public regarding TransCanada, which contrasts the "win-win" narrative of the Dow Jones Sustainability Index, is conveyed in this excerpt from a letter written by Lubicon Councilors Alphonse Ominayak, Dwight Gladue, and Larry Ominayak. The following was sent to TransCanada Vice Presidents Stephen Clark and Steve Schock in 2008:

> TransCanada['s] interests aren't served by steamrolling over Aboriginal communities... its interests aren't served by ignoring international human rights conventions... its interests aren't served by pretending to listen to Aboriginal people as long as there's never any question of having to alter any of the company's original plans or timetables... [we are] sick and tired of corporate executives who pretend their pursuit of private profit has anything whatsoever to do with the "public interest."[57]

"Public interest" is narrowly and racistly defined by the colonial government, whereby interests serving liberal settler capitalism are deemed indispensable to the country as a whole while the interests of Indigenous people are considered threats to the fabric of Canadian society. Moreover, by actively undermining the fabric of Indigenous families, governance, and cultures over centuries of colonization, the Government of Canada has made it more difficult for the Lubicon to access institutional channels that would give them the power to decide what happens on their territory; the relationship is coercive, not consensual. By refusing to recognize the Government of the Lubicon Lake Nation, the Government of Canada "silences [the Lubicon Nation's] people and amplifies the voices and agendas which reflect and resonate with Canada's goals for the Nation."[58] In contrast to these agendas, the Lubicon Lake Nation website lays out five demands for people who wish to support the Lubicon in the recognition of their territoriality, authority, and self-determination:[59]

1. Make your voice heard. Contact the Government of Canada directly and let them know that you support the Lubicon people and the mandate they have provided their rightful government. You can do so by directing a letter to Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. For ease of use, a letter is provided here to let the Government of Canada know that you do not support their current actions in developing a strategy outside of the Nation and which does not confer with or acknowledge the Lubicon Lake Nation Government.
2. Join our mailing list to receive email updates on current events and concerns facing the Lubicon Lake Nation.
3. Sign our online petition to join a legion of people letting the Government of Canada know

you support the Lubicon Lake Nation, their customs and traditional governance.

4. Participate in our International Sovereignty Project, which allows participants to design, draw, photograph, record, and represent through design, technology and artistry their vision of sovereignty. Our hope is that our posters will make their way around the world; that you, your school, your organization, your family, your community will display the poster proudly and in as many places as you like – reminding the world that Sovereign peoples do exist, do continue to self-determine and continue to fight colonization and imperialism with the strongest tool possible: sovereignty.
5. Contact us at info@LubiconLakeNation.ca.

There is no question about the lack of consent from the Lubicon with regard to the extraction of bitumen from their land. Lubicon resistance to this development has been extensively documented, and their demands for the Canadian government and industry have been made clear multiple times throughout the decades, since resource extraction activities began. Upon examining evidence generated by the Lubicon themselves, there is little ambiguity: tar sands development has continued to occur on Lubicon territory not because the Lubicon desire it, but because the colonial coalition of industry and government has willfully ignored the rights and demands of Indigenous peoples and has made the decision to uphold profit over human rights and environmental conservation.

The Tar Sands as a Microcosm: Development, Colonialism, Capitalism, and Indigenous Rights

A common view espoused by those in support of tar sands extraction is that there is massive potential for "economic development" that cannot simply be neglected. Such a view, however, obscures who reaps the benefits of such "development" — the Lubicon have received precisely zero dollars from the oil revenues from their territory. Indigenous communities across Canada repeatedly find themselves subjugated by the Canadian state through unequal relationships of power that manifest materially, in battles against unwanted and unasked-for "development," driven by those in Canada's centres of capital accumulation. As Laboucan-Massimo describes:

> Ideas of development and progress are antithetical to what real life looks like for [Indigenous people]. What would be great to see is an ushering in of indigenous economies. For families destroyed by colonialism, what we'd like to see are renewable forms of energies and becoming food secure.[60]

The concept of "development" is invoked to justify industrial activity that decimates many forms of life on earth, both human and non-human, and the tar sands epitomize this type of destructive resource exploitation. To avoid climate collapse, a contraction in our use of resources is inevitably required (notably fossil fuels, but many others too). On the other hand, the structure of our economy requires capital expansion to avoid economic collapse; capital often expands by consuming

more resources, and therein lies the irreconcilable problem.[61] A staggering 85% of the Albertan tar sands must remain in reserves, or in the ground, to avoid "game over" for the climate, not to mention the infringement upon the rights of Indigenous peoples.[62] However, environmentalist journalist Bill McKibben explains why this will never happen under current socio-economic relations of production:

> [Reserve] coal and gas and oil is still technically in the soil. But it's already economically aboveground — it's figured into share prices, companies are borrowing money against it, nations are basing their budgets on the presumed returns from their patrimony. It explains why the big fossil fuel companies have fought so hard to prevent the regulation of carbon dioxide — those reserves are their primary asset, the holding that gives their companies their value. It's why they've worked so hard these past years to figure out how to unlock the oil in Canada's tar sands, or how to drill miles beneath the sea, or how to frack the Appalachians. If you told Exxon or Lukoil that, in order to avoid wrecking the climate, they couldn't pump out their reserves, the value of their companies would plummet... if you paid attention to the scientists and kept 80% of it underground, you'd be writing off $20 trillion in assets.[63]

The oil industry under capitalism (like all other industries) relies upon the presupposition of infinite growth, but simply put, earth has finite resources. The paradigm of capitalist growth thus conflicts with the earth's capacity to support life.[64] What Indigenous people have known for thousands of years is starting to seep into mainstream understanding: "only one of these sets of rules can be changed, and it's not the laws of nature."[65] Indigenous ontology rooted in notions of reciprocity are a "truer vision, from the standpoint of longer-term adaptation and evolution, than [the] world of competitive opposition and exploitation" that is encoded in Canadian notions of progress when it comes to confronting our present and worsening environmental conditions.[66] The tar sands expansion must be stopped if Canada is to reach its Paris Accord climate targets (an already dangerously conservative goal), but the situation is much more complex than an emissions equation. Laboucan-Massimo relevantly reminds us that "[the] truth about colonization is that it has not ended: it continues in the form of neocolonialism, and one of the forms I am most familiar with is resource extraction."[67]

Importantly, it is not that the government ignores the environmental destruction caused by extractive corporations because these industries contribute to "economic development" — rather, both the government and extractive industries rely on a logic of exploitation that necessitates a subjugation of Indigenous Peoples and a legitimization of the state, in order to justify their extraction. This is therefore not an isolated conflict between the Lubicon and the Canadian government, who are simply unable to compromise, but a systemic and institutional problem stemming from people and systems that know no logic other than that of profit, and see no better way to acquire that profit than through dispossession and unregulated extraction:

> The plight of Canada's Indigenous peoples does not exist as an anomaly despite Canada's great wealth as a country. *It exists as a direct result of the way that wealth is generated.* In order to gain unrestricted access to valuable resources, Aboriginal land rights are deliber-

> ately subverted by Canadian government working in tandem with transnational resource exploitation companies. Traditional Indigenous economies are systematically destroyed. Aboriginal leadership is cynically undermined. Aboriginal societies are purposefully torn asunder. Subversion of Indigenous land rights, wanton destruction of traditional economies, unbridled exploitation of Indigenous lands and resources, undermining of Indigenous leadership, the tearing apart of Aboriginal societies — *that's a conscious, deliberate formula for wiping out distinct, functioning Indigenous societies in Canada*.[68]

The state and capital unite in a "symbiotic front" in the tar sands, which serves to marginalize any opposition to either the state or capital as "insignificant and naïve."[69] The relentless infringement upon the rights of the Lubicon on behalf of the Canadian state is not a two-dimensional anomalous story of Indigenous rights versus economic development, but rather, it is another complex yet predictable manifestation of the systems of oppression built into the paradigms of colonialism and capitalism that have always guided the Canadian state. Highlighting the acute power imbalance between actors, Hern et al. describe the Canadian state as "relentless — they keep harassing the Lubicon from every conceivable angle, using every dirty trick and every Machiavellian strategy — and they hold all the cards. The situation feels unimaginable, and it's a struggle to name it anything but genocidal."[70] Perhaps the gravity of the situation warrants bluntness: Western institutions are simultaneously destroying the planet while attempting to do the same to Indigenous peoples, and these processes rely on each other.

Mississauga Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Simpson urges settlers to begin linking climate change to the dual processes of accumulation and dispossession, both of which are also inherent to the reproduction of both capitalism and colonialism.[71,72] This is precisely why the Lubicon have struggled for so long to keep development off of their territory, despite the incessant and transparent violations of international human rights laws and treaties. The story of the Alberta tar sands "describes the ontology of capitalism and development perfectly... *the exploitative relationships between the colonial state and Indigenous people, between development and the land, is replicated in every corner of the planet, and global warming is only one of the consequences.*"[73] Fighting for the rights of the Lubicon or any Indigenous nation cannot be done in isolation from these larger systems of oppression, because the oppression will simply replicate itself elsewhere by exploiting both the land and people that exist wherever capital moves next.[74] The politics required to answer global warming and stop the expansion of extractive industries on both local and global scales must thus "acknowledge that the domination of other-than-humans and the land is made permissible by the domination of humans by humans" if it is to provide an affirmative way forward.[75]

Luckily, Leanne Simpson has a hopeful message regarding interventions in the face of global warming and capitalism:

> I feel like that's something my ancestors had figured out... they knew how to live. They had their own economy; *they knew how to live in the world without being capitalists.* They knew how to organize societies and nations, and how to do international diplomacy. I feel like it's not that far away from me. *Another world is possible. I think I've already seen it. I*

come from that. My ancestors didn't bank capital as a way of maintaining security, as a way of mitigating fear and anxiety- they banked relationships... they had to rely on a different way of being *and that relational way of being creates a different way of being in the world.*[76]

Conclusion: Towards A Decolonial, Ecological, Relational Future

The various problems faced by Indigenous communities like the Lubicon are not "Indigenous problems" produced within the boundaries of the reserve, but problems resulting from the accumulated impacts of centuries of colonization and coercive relationships between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state. The Lubicon did not previously suffer from the destruction of livelihoods, poisoned waterways, and economic insecurity in any capacity similar to what has ensued after the explosion of tar sands development on their territory without their consent. Lubicon resistance is undermined through the arms- and capital-backed associations of government and resource extraction companies that promise that their actions are in everyone's best interests, despite the genocidal consequences. Ultimately, the potent mix of colonialism, capitalism, and extractivism combine forcefully in Little Buffalo, resulting in undeniable violence and harm while also being met with Indigenous resurgence, shown through defiance of the Canadian state and a rejection of the aforementioned potent mix that it represents. It is this Indigenous radical resurgence[77] that generates hope for future generations.

Lubicon sovereignty is being actualized through various forms of resistance. In the summer of 2015, Laboucan-Massimo installed 80 solar panels in Little Buffalo, known as the "Piitapan Solar Project". *Piitapan* means "Coming Dawn" or "New Dawn" in Cree.[78] The project was part of her masters research at the University of Victoria on renewable energy in First Nation communities, and the installation generates 20.8 kilowatts of renewable energy for the Lubicon community. This project was partially about making her community energy self-sufficient, but also about sending a larger message to the Canadian government and extractive industry that renewable energy technologies are cheap and readily available solutions.[79] She explains why community-owned renewable energy is so important:

> Energy dependency resulted from colonial policies- renewable sources show local communities that it is possible and is more in line with indigenous values and worldviews. Since that time that we put up solar panels, we actually haven't gotten an electricity bill. These types of technologies can save communities. My community's been living in energy poverty. Putting up solar panels helps them in a very tangible way... We're not looking for a clean energy grid that's owned by big corporations like Suncor or Enbridge but by communities that actually own their power.[80,81]

In 2018, the long-standing Lubicon land claim reached a settlement agreement of $121 million, as well as a piece of land for a reserve and a robust infrastructure project.[82] The land being offered to them had been relatively untouched by the extractive industry, compared to many adjacent areas, mostly because of a robust local campaign led by former Chief Ominayak.[83] Current Chief Billy Joe Laboucan

commented that the settlement "means a brighter future, a better economic future... this means a lot because housing up there is really bad. Half the houses have been condemned or are mouldy and they don't have running water."[84] It is a step in the right direction, but by no means will the cash payment completely remedy the impacts of colonization and land theft: as Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang remind us, the project of decolonization is complex and unique, requiring returning stolen land; it is not a "metaphor" for attempting to correct past social injustices, whether through lump sums of compensatory money or increased funding for housing and schools, however necessary these may be to alleviate short-term problems.[85] I hope, although I do not know, that there will be an "end point" of colonization in our collective future; what I do know, however, is that as long as the larger systems of oppression remain in place, there is no hope for a systematic transition to an ecological and decolonized future that values relationships over exploitation and survives the climate crisis. We must imagine the potential for a relational way of being that could emerge if resilient Indigenous nations like the Lubicon were not consistently berated and oppressed by the state, and instead could be guided by visions of stewardship, relationality, and others like it. Indigenous ways of life that bank relationships rather than capital, as Simpson describes, could flourish within the larger and thriving entity of the earth.

The tar sands expansion must be halted if Indigenous rights are to be taken seriously in Canada, and the politics required to halt the expansion of the tar sands is, at this point, necessarily radical. But it will be radical in the most exciting and positive of ways, such that settler-Canadians and humanity at large can reimagine a profoundly more dignified way of living in this world. It is not too late to collectively learn to think outside the domains of oppression and exploitation, and to unlearn the many diverse mechanisms of oppression and exploitation that we have inevitably internalized by living in a settler-colonial capitalist society. The result will be an emerging politics that is capable of halting the disastrous expansion of the tar sands while putting Indigenous land stewards at the forefront of this incredibly necessary transition to a society capable of living within its own biophysical limits. If Canada and the West in general cannot embrace an alternative and relational way of existing in this world that is free from dominion, it is quite possible that there will be few humans left on this earth to carry on this conversation and path towards a dignified, unified, decolonial futurity. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau proclaimed in 2017 that "no country would find 173 billion barrels of oil in the ground and leave them there;" clearly, the tensions between colonial "reconciliation" as defined by the liberal Canadian state and meaningful Indigenous sovereignty come head to head at the frontiers of resource extraction. For those of us aspiring towards sovereign and relational futures, our political work is cut out for us, but our success will remain in the fact that our fight is guided by solidarity and love rather than the dominion and exploitation that have painted such an ugly colour on humanity for too long.

Notes

Please note that due to restrictions to our access to libraries and sources as a result of COVID-19, page numbers for some sources were unavailable during the publishing process.

1. Matt Hern and Am Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life: A Tar Sands Tale, illus. Joe Sacco* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2018).
2. Melina Laboucan-Massimo, *Violence Against the Earth is Violence Against Women* (2016, REDx Talks), video, 23:29, https://vimeo.com/212154255.
3. Krystalline Kraus, "Activist Communique: The story behind the story of the Lubicon Lake Cree First Nation near Slave Lake," Rabble (blog), May 26 2011, https://rabble.ca/blogs/bloggers/krystalline-kraus/2011/05/activist-communiqué-story-behind-story-lubicon-lake-cree-fi.
4. "The Lubicon Archive 1939," Nisto. Accessed April 2019. http://nisto.com/cree/lubicon/.
5. "Home," Lubicon Lake Nation. Last updated 2018. https://www.lubiconlakenation.ca/.
6. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. David Biello, "How much will tar sands oil add to global warming?", *Scientific American*, January 23, 2013, https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/tar-sands-and-keystone-xl-pipeline-impact-on-global-warming/.
9. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
10. Biello, "How much will tar sands oil add."
11. *Ibid.*
12. Mia Rabson, "Canada produces more greenhouse gas emissions than any other G20 country, new report says," *The Star* (Toronto, ON), Nov. 4, 2018, https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2018/11/14/canada-produces-most-greenhouse-gas-emissions-than-any-other-g20-country-new-report-says.html.
13. Dana Wagner, "Elizabeth May: 'The oil sands are about two per cent of GDP,'" FactsCan, October 1, 2015, http://factscan.ca/elizabeth-may-oil-sands-two-per-cent-of-gdp/.
14. Laboucan-Massimo, "Violence Against the Earth."
15. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
16. "A History of Struggle," *Briarpatch Magazine,* February 28 2012. https://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/a-history-of-struggle.
17. "Letter writing campaign to the federal government," Friends of the Lubicon Archive. http://www.lubicon.ca/pa/letters.htm.
18. "A History of Struggle," *Briarpatch.*
19. "The Lubicon Archive 1939," Nisto.
20. *Ibid.*
21. "A History of Struggle," *Briarpatch.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. "Lubicon Historical Overview to June 1989," Friends of the Lubicon Archive, http://www.lubicon.ca/pa/neglubap/histov.html.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. "The Lubicon Archive 1939," Nisto.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. "Letter writing campaign to the federal government," Friends of the Lubicon Archive.

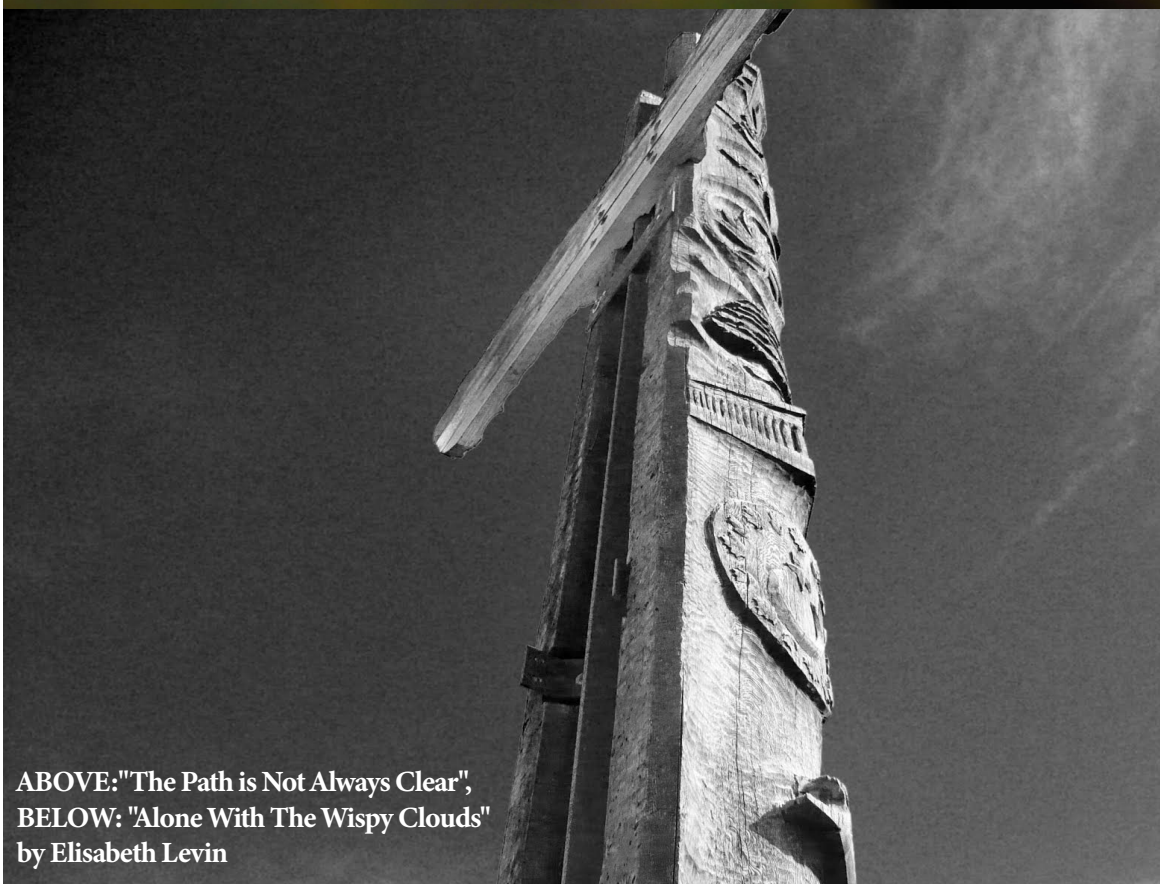
33. “A History of Struggle,” *Briarpatch.*
34. Sean Kheraj, “Alberta’s oil spill history,” Active History, May 11, 2011, http://activehistory.ca/2011/05/albertas-oil-spill-history/.
35. Melina Laboucan-Massimo, *'Oil On Lubicon Land' - A Photo Essay From Greenpeace Campaigner Melina Laboucan-Massimo* (June 17, 2011, Green Peace Canada), Youtube video, 10:45, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qz3nSscXamI.
36. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
37. Kraus, “Activist Communique,”.
38. James Smith, “Canada - The Lubicon Lake Cree,” *Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine* 11, no. 3 (1987).
39. *Ibid*, emphasis my own.
40. “The Lubicon Archive 1939,” Nisto.
41. Laboucan-Massimo, “‘Oil On Lubicon Land.”
42. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
43. “Letter writing campaign to the federal government,” Friends of the Lubicon Archive.
44. Kraus, “Activist Communique."
45. “Tar Sands,” Indigenous Environmental Network, 2019, http://www.ienearth.org/what-we-do/tar-sands/.
46. Hilary Beaumont, “An Indigenous Environmental Activist Is Building a Solar Network in the Heart of Canada’s Tar Sands,” Vice, Feb. 9, 2016, https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/5gjjqk/an-indigenous-environmental-activist-is-building-a-solar-network-in-the-heart-of-canadas-tar-sands-314.
47. *Ibid.*
48.Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
49. Laboucan-Massimo, “Violence Against the Earth."
50. Beaumont, “An Indigenous Environmental Activist."
51. *Ibid.*
52. Laboucan-Massimo, “Violence Against the Earth."
53. *Ibid.*
54. Lubicon Lake Nation Youth Council, *Lubicon Lake Nation Youth Respond to PMC Oil Spill*, (May 8 2011, Lubicon Lake Nation), Youtube video, 2:19, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oMUVp6OJPgI
55. *Ibid.*
56. S&P Global Inc, “Dow Jones Sustainability Index,” 2020, https://www.robecosam.com/csa/indices/
57. Alphonse Ominayak, Dwight Gladue, and Larry Ominayak, “TransCanada invades Lubicon territory,” Friends of the Lubicon Action Please Archive, November 7 2008, http://www.lubicon.ca/pa/oilp/tcplp/po081117.htm
58. “Home,” Lubicon Lake Nation.
59. *Ibid.*
60. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
61. Giorgos Kallis, *Degrowth* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing, 2018).
62. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
63. Bill McKibben, “Global Warming’s Terrifying New Math,” *Rolling Stone,* July 19, 2012, https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/global-warmings-terrifying-new-math-188550/
64. Kallis, *Degrowth.*
65. Naomi Klein, *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knoff Canada, 2014).
66. Colin Scott, "Ontology and Ethics in Cree Hunting: animism, totemism and practical knowledge,” in *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism* ed. Graham Harvey (Durham: Acumen, 2013), 159-166.

67. Laboucan-Massimo, *Violence Against the Earth*.
68. "Canadian Indigenous Peoples Under Siege, Emergency Action Alert: Indigenous People Under Siege By Canadian Governments And Industry," Nisto, March 6 1996, http://nisto.com/cree/lubicon/1996/19960319.html, Emphasis my own.
69. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. Leanne B. Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Resurgence Through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 2017).
72. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life*.
73. *Ibid,* emphasis my own.
74. Hannah Holleman, "Capital and Ecology," In *Reading 'Capital' Today*, eds. Ingo Schmidt and Carlo Fanelli (London: Pluto Press, 2017), 160-180.
75. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
76. *Ibid*, emphasis my own.
77. Simpson, *As We Have Always Done.*
78. Richard Thompson, "Trailblazer: Melina Laboucan-Massimo," Kairos Canada, November 3, 2017, https://www.kairoscanada.org/melina-laboucan-massimo-trailblazer-story
79. Beaumont, "An Indigenous Environmental Activist."
80. Hern and Johal, *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life.*
81. Thompson, "Trailblazer."
82. Juris Graney, "'It's been a long time coming': $121-million land claim settlement struck with Lubicon Lake Band following decades-long dispute," *Edmonton Journal*, (Edmonton, AB) Oct. 24, 2018, https://edmontonjournal.com/news/politics/deal-reached-with-lubicon-lake-band-over-long-standing-land-claim
83. Bob Weber, "Signing of historic treaty only marks start of real work for Lubicon Cree in Alberta, chief says," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON) Nov. 12, 2018, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-signing-of-historic-treaty-only-marks-start-of-real-work-for-lubicon/
84. Graney, "'It's been a long time coming,".
85. Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012).

Rethinking Regionalism

Indigenous Political Activation in Canada

Olivia Ramos



ABOVE:"The Path is Not Always Clear",
BELOW: "Alone With The Wispy Clouds"
by Elisabeth Levin

Introduction

Much of the existing scholarship pertaining to regionalism in Canada addresses sub-national groups tied to specific geographic areas and investigates the extent to which these groups operate in conjunction with each other. In such examinations, components such as regional composition – which includes the socio-demographic makeup of the regions – and psychological attachments to various characteristics of such regions are important variables of consideration that compound to influence and motivate individuals in specific ways. Within this analysis, Indigenous peoples in Canada are often lost and insufficiently discussed. Studies typically avoid involving Indigenous communities or naturally subsume such communities within their overall "minorities" variable. Indigeneity complicates the regionalism paradigm, as aspects such as Indigenous sovereignty and nationalism prove difficult to grapple with and translate onto a Western framework. This essay will consider the specific historical, geographical, and social circumstances at play in Indigenous life in Canada as factors that constitute Indigenous nations as distinct regions unto themselves. Paramount to this analysis are the different forms of political activation enacted by Indigenous communities that corroborate these historical, geographical, and social factors to thus render them discrete regions.

I will first provide a brief historical account of the colonial encounter between Indigenous nations and the settler state, emphasizing not only the varied experience of colonialism across nations, but also the lasting impacts that the transgression of the Canadian state had on Indigenous nations. Next, I will establish the theoretical framework upon which this essay is built and introduce the scholarship from which I am drawing. My argument utilizes a definition of regionalism that requires the presence of both a strong affinity to a given territory and concrete forms of political activation in order to be classified as a region. After laying this historical and conceptual groundwork, I will turn to three case studies that illustrate these tenets of regionalism at play with different Indigenous nations. Each case study provides a different form of political activation that all predicate a strong attachment to the land, reinforcing the possibility for Indigenous nations to be considered distinct regions.

Historical Background

Gina Starblanket brings forth the concept of "colonial unknowing" in her piece, "The Numbered Treaties and the Politics of Incoherence." This notion addresses the process by which there is a "disassociation of the past from the present" that inhibits recognition of the "interconnected and co-constitutive nature of various dimensions of colonialism."[1] That is, colonial unknowing pertains to the process by which colonial powers alter the presentation and perception of their actions by settlers to effectively negate their genocidal culpability and present an illusion

of justification. The past is recast to mutually portray the Canadian state as benevolent and construct Indigenous individuals as "savages in need of civilization" and "deviant, immoral beings" in order to justify the colonial enterprise and produce the government's own legality.[2] Such processes of colonial unknowing and identity construction are related and inform one another, resulting not only in perpetuated stigmas and categorizations, but also in actual, tangible pathologies – including alcoholism, suicide, and AIDS – that currently impact Indigenous mental and physical health.[3] While all Indigenous groups in Canada experienced colonialism, the specific experiences, circumstances, and outcomes vary from nation to nation. Efforts to avoid pan-Indigenization are vital to considering Indigenous nations as distinct regions, rather than as a homogenous identity. Considering the individual developments of each nation simultaneously allows recognition for the diverse roles that self-government, culture, and territory play, which in turn produce the distinct local character that distinguishes different Indigenous regions.

The temporal differences in the settling of Indigenous territories by the Canadian state have given rise to different realities and relationships. One way to examine such differences is through the epidemics which began to plague the Indigenous communities when faced with European contact. Viruses that had been previously unseen were carried by fur traders and setters alike, infecting the Indigenous communities as they travelled. Humans, furs, and cattle acted as vectors for the diseases, causing widespread outbreaks of smallpox, influenza, and tuberculosis throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Following large scale mortality, processes of ethnogenesis unfolded and "new community identities evolved as newcomers and local survivors merged."[4] This process impacted different communities at varying degrees, including the severity of the mortality rates. The ferocity of the outbreaks, especially of tuberculosis, "varied according to specific, local conditions even within small geographic areas," generating a "sharply localized nature of disease," each with an individual "spatial-temporal pattern."[5] Certain nations were utterly annihilated, others survived, and some – specifically, the Dakota, with their ability as refugees to "design their own economic strategies" and thus preserve their traditional forms of subsistence and organization[6] without Canadian interference or manipulation – thrived despite the epidemics and famines, which were exacerbated by the Dominion government. The Dakotas' freedom from government intervention was once exclusive to all Indigenous groups as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, before the Europeans arrived and the formation of treaty agreements became the means through which the government "sought to consolidate its control over the region."[7]

Treaties offer an interesting lens through which differing accounts of history can be perceived and colonial unknowing may be challenged. From the perspective of the Indigenous signatories, treaties represented an opportunity in which their communities and settlers might engage in negotiations regarding their land that would generate a "non-violent and generative co-existence."[8] But for the Dominion government, treaties functioned to "continually produce [the government's] own claims to sovereignty" and "contain the exercise of Indigenous self-governance

over time."[9] Treaties were often signed under duress and involved promises that the Dominion government never intended to fulfill, such as proper and vital medicinal aid to a disease-ridden population. Indigenous resistance to such nefarious intents were then portrayed as delinquent and criminal, allowing for further "abrogation of treaty commitments."[10] Inherent in this historical investigation are the shifting relationships between Indigenous peoples and the land. Forced migration due to disease, famine, and game patterns prompted certain groups to flee their ancestral territory in favour of potentially unaffected areas. Similarly, with the imposition of the reserve system, the treaties disrupted the connections between Indigenous groups and their traditional territories, creating displacement and diminishment. Just as the impact of epidemics varied depending on the confluence of geography and temporality, so too did the treaty system differentially affect Indigenous nations. For example, while treaty agreements came to control the prairies, British Columbia remains largely unceded, with only small pockets of Vancouver Island and an area in the northern stretch of the province being officially settled land.[11] Treaties thus fragmented relationships and altered ties both between the Indigenous nations and the Canadian state, and between Indigenous nations and their lands. The impacts of these treaties were specific to each nation, creating distinct historical, territorial, and cultural consequences for Indigenous nations across the country that, at varying degrees, inform the development, governance, and mobilization of these nations in contemporary conditions.

Theoretical Framework

The above contextualization is imperative to both the diminishment of the collective, colonial unknowing, and recognizing Indigenous nations as distinct regions. Following the definitions of region and regionalism outlined by Cochrane and Perrella,[12] Elkins and Simeon,[13] and Henderson,[14] a multifaceted understanding of the concepts emerges. When considered in unison, the authors propose regions as both concretized political realities[15] and psychological attachments to "a given geographical area"[16] that in turn play a vital role "in affecting understandings of the state."[17] That is, regions possess specific material and symbolic dimensions; regions not only pertain to physical, geographic areas, but also stimulate an attachment to place that both in turn influence an individual's experience of and relationship with the state. Using a composite definition of region that draws from multiple scholars allows for an evolution from reductive and prescriptive interpretations of a certain people in a certain place, to more complex and layered understandings of the impact regions have on their inhabitants. More specifically, this definition is especially pertinent when considering Indigenous nations as distinct regions within the Canadian state. The aforementioned historical realities carry significant magnitude when considering Indigenous perceptions of the state, as well as the psychological attachment to place. This regional framework creates room to contextualize current issues between Indigenous groups and Canada, while stipulating the fundamental

presence of political activation that crucially solidifies regionalism and renders it a tangible political reality.

The most basic and primary mode of political activation is voting. Not only does voting provide a legible method to compare different areas across the country on various levels (federally, provincially, municipally), but it also allows for deeper interpretations of the social, economic, and cultural characteristics of these areas, depending on the direction in which their votes lean. After examining voting behaviour in Indigenous groups, the discrepancy between Indigenous communities and the rest of Canada becomes clear, with Indigenous voter turnout being "lower than their Canadian counterparts."[18] Low voter turnout can be accounted for through consideration of attitudinal disaffection and disengagement, or by examining lacks in socioeconomic resources, but ultimately, these diagnoses are incomplete. Casting Indigenous communities solely as "underdeveloped or disadvantaged" engages in a new form of colonial unknowing, one that neglects aspects of contemporary sovereignty and resistance that do not directly or necessarily translate into a vote in a Canadian election.[19] Furthermore, just as there are substantial divergences in voter turnout between Indigenous communities and other regions in Canada, the patterns between Indigenous groups are likewise dissimilar. The vast differences in voting behaviour "across bands and language groups" highlight the fact that "different Aboriginal communities have different histories" that develop varying "internal politics" and "relationship[s] with the Canadian government."[20] Voting alone is an insufficient means of investigating and understanding Indigenous activation because it would ultimately deem there to be an inconsistent and insufficient level of political activation, effectively discounting Indigenous communities as independent regions.

In order to substantiate the inadequacies of using voter turnout as the sole measure of political activation, I propose both the "nationalism" and the "post-colonial" theses.[21] The nationalism thesis suggests that Indigenous nations choose to organize and participate in their nation's government and political structure, which leads to disengagement from the Canadian political system. The post-colonial thesis argues that the state itself, as a system that has historically and continually subordinated Indigenous peoples, facilitates low-voter turnout. Here, the state institutions "are instruments of colonization,"[22] and so disengagement is a positive effort of Indigenous refusal. The junction of these arguments allows for a broader understanding of Indigenous political disengagement driven by the desire to replace "a Canadian national identity with an Aboriginal one" in order to allow for the "legitimate voice" of Indigenous nations to be heard.[23] Moreover, it addresses the refusal to suffer institutional suppression and rather strives to resist and challenge systemic oppression through direct action.[24] Here, political activation for Indigenous groups has the potential to transmute, transcend, and translate onto the simplistic conceptions of political engagement — namely, voting. Activation can and does take the form of voting, but it also manifests in alternative forms of political action and is inherent in the act of refusing to vote. Deliberate disengagement is not a failure "to mobilize rights,"[25] but rather, it holds political weight and is a marker of an active

refusal to be recognized according to the oppressor's terms.[26]

A more holistic understanding of political activation widens the horizon of Indigenous regionalism. While current scholars clearly assert the lack of and need for substantial and comprehensive research on Indigenous voting behaviour,[27,28,29] more productive and representative analyses may be reached by examining other, more complex modes of political activation. Here, I will shift my focus from a historical and theoretical perspective to instead hone in on concrete examples of these activations. With the contextual and conceptual framework established, the following instances of Indigenous political mobilization can be understood as the constitution and solidification of Indigenous nations as regions.

Case Studies

Constitutional Conferences. The 1984, 1985, and 1987 First Ministers' Conferences on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters were occasions in which Indigenous political activation, like voting, operated within — or rather, parallel to — the structure of the Canadian government. The meetings were designed to enshrine Indigenous self-governance into the Canadian constitution in an effort to return an essential facet of autonomy to Indigenous communities. The proceedings, while ultimately unsuccessful in achieving their intended goal, produced an unexpected outcome. Through the mandated conventions, the Canadian state was forced to recognize and negotiate with a league of Indigenous nations which, as Chief Joe Mathias asserted, "put something [sic] that was not there before."[30] The sovereignties met not as the state and a "subjugated peoples," but rather as Canada and multiple Indigenous "nations,"[31] each garnering their own position in the discussions as independent entities joined in a common cause. The conferences provided both a platform on which Indigenous leaders could "use [the Canadian government's] legal system to test their law" and a precedent of consultation and negotiation for which future matters may follow.[32]

Though ultimately Indigenous self-governance was not formally institutionalized, there is also a certain power in the federal and provincial governments' denial. If Indigenous self-governance is seen to threaten the overall legitimacy and power of the Canadian state, then "state sovereignty is constituted through the recognition of Indigenous sovereignty;"[33] the rejection to entrench Indigenous sovereignty in the Canadian constitution is in fact an acknowledgement that Indigenous sovereignty is a politically loaded and powerful entity. Similar logic is employed in Audra Simpson's ethnography, *Mohawk Interruptus*,[34] which deals specifically with the Kanahwa:ke Mohawks of the Iroquois Confederacy. In her personal account of an encounter at a US border crossing — where she is aggressively, verbally assaulted by an officer who forcibly rejects her status as a Mohawk — Simpson demonstrates the threat that Indigeneity poses to the institutions of the settler-colonial state and the political magnitude contained in simple acts of self-assertion and arriving at the table.

The Oka Crisis. Simple acts of self-assertion sometimes evolve into more definitive and explosive stances of resistance. The summer of 1990 prompted such an explosion between the Mohawk nation and the governments of Québec and Canada. Arising over the expansion of a golf course into the white pine forest in Oka, Québec, the crisis came to involve "direct action by the local community" and large-scale "sovereignty claims" by the Mohawk warriors.[35] Expansion efforts would trespass on "unceded territory and burial grounds'' that would instigate not only a physical loss of land, but also a deterioration of the Mohawk nation's emotional and spiritual connection to the land.[36] Oka then became a territorial standoff between Indigenous peoples and the settler-colonial state; it is a blatant, contemporary example of the colonial imperative to expand despite the interests of or implications for Indigenous nations. In this way, the crisis can be understood as the detonation of conflicts and tensions between Indigenous nations and the Canadian state that have been culminating for centuries and came to a tipping point at Oka.[37] With the constitutional conferences dissolved and sovereignty again at stake and on the verge of dismissal, the Mohawks of Kanehsata:ke and Kanahwa:ke engaged in a different form of political activation. Through direct alternative action, in the form of an armed 78-day blockade, the Mohawk nation mobilized an oppositional political activation that engulfed "larger political issues"; most prominently, they advocated for their basic and fundamental grievances "over land claims and self-determination."[38]

Not only does Oka represent the quintessential Indigenous resistance movement in the late twentieth-century, but it also revolutionized Indigenous political resistance and activation in Canada. Oka received significant national and international attention, and is still revisited by scholars and journalists as a pivotal event in Canadian history with reverberating impacts.[39,40,41,42] The First Ministers' Conferences on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters provided one of the first instances of Indigenous voices being projected on a national stage, and the Oka crisis furthered this trend, enabling "[n]ative peoples to speak louder or, rather, to speak as Native peoples and to be *heard*."[43] The media attention alone, though often negative and biased, expanded the scope of the crisis. Strides made by the Mohawks toward land control and self-governance "united all Indigenous communities" across the country and created a much larger and more inclusive communicative context than those previously seen in treaty negotiations, legal disputes, and even the constitutional meetings in the 1980s.[44,45] Furthermore, the crisis created a novel conception of Indigenous nationhood that "inspired young Indigenous peoples" and awakened an "Indigenous consciousness."[46]

Lasting, tangible effects can be attributed to the Oka Crisis. First, it resolutely altered the "place of militant action in protecting Native rights," creating a precedent of successful armed Indigenous resistance in Canada. Similarly, the Iroquois – if not all Indigenous groups – could no longer be conceived of as politically weak and unorganized non-actors.[47] Rather, the Oka Crisis necessitated a reformulation and reconfiguration of Indigenous nations in the minds of Canadians. Moreover, the crisis impacted the way Indigenous peoples throughout Canada

perceived Indigenous-state relations by providing a concrete and ready example of refusal.[48] Finally, Oka operated as the turning point in which the Canadian government was forced to recognize and concede to the power held by Indigenous nations. Oka instigated the government's largest Royal Commission in history and its legacy informed both the Nisga'a Treaty in 1998 and the creation of Nunavut in 1999.[49] Perhaps the most prominent and resounding result of the Oka Crisis ultimately resides in the cancellation of the golf course expansion project in the white pine forest.

Pipeline Politics and Unceded Land in British Columbia. Recent events surrounding the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion project in British Columbia involve multiple intersecting factors that deeply complicate both the aims of Indigenous nations in the province, and those of Kinder Morgan (the company responsible for the pipeline) and the federal government. Primarily, British Columbia poses a difficult arena for contemporary land negotiations, given that the majority of its land was "never ceded to foreign powers" during colonization.[50] With the Nisga'a Final Agreement in 1998 being the only modern form of treaty that has come to full fruition in the province's recent history, the tensions between governmental forces wishing to pursue expansion initiatives and the First Nations striving to protect and retain title to their ancestral lands in this area is palpable. The lack of precedent for negotiations in the province likewise creates legal uncertainty for both the government and Indigenous nations; however, the major victory of *Tsilhqot'in v British Columbia* is emblematic of Indigenous land retention and title, presenting the possibility for future ratifications through the Canadian judicial system. The ultimate decision to grant the Tsilhqot'in Nation 1750 square kilometres of their land in central British Columbia established a framework for "making this aspiration [of Indigenous land title] a practical reality."[51,52] In rendering land formally and resolutely that of the Tsilhqot'in Nation, the Supreme Court "definitively told Canada to accept the reality of Aboriginal title."[53]

This example of legal success in the pursuit of land rights and title presages the current legal endeavours made toward ensuring territorial and environmental protections against the Trans Mountain pipeline project. Indigenous nations across the province have mobilized and engaged in legal proceedings with both the federal and provincial governments, resulting in the mandate for the province of British Columbia to work on "a plan to conduct the review [of environmental requirements] and consult with Indigenous communities" regarding the continuation of the pipeline expansion.[54] The Federal Court of Appeal is similarly involved in these legal proceedings, as they have agreed to "hear arguments from First Nations that argue they were improperly consulted before the federal government approved the pipeline project" and critically examine the caliber of such consultations.[55,56] Clear progress has already been achieved at the federal level, as the Court of Appeal previously rejected the initial project proposal by the Trudeau government entirely, judging it as containing both "an insufficient environmental review and inadequate Indigenous consultation."[57] The legal proceedings have demonstrated, as Chief Joe Mathias strongly articulated back in 1987, that Indigenous nations have the capac-

ity to challenge Canadian law through the Canadian legal system.[58] Indigenous nations are challenging the Canadian government, through the Canadian judiciary, to "follow their own constitution and statutes when making decisions that impact us all."[59]

Remnants of the Oka Crisis are not lost in this context either, as numerous protests and barricades have been erected throughout the entire Trans Mountain process. In northern British Columbia, 14 Indigenous protestors were arrested after having camped out for days in order to prevent construction vehicles from entering Wet'suwet'en territory.[60] On the grounds outside the British Columbia Legislature, crowds of Indigenous peoples gathered with banners condemning the pipeline project and calling for greater acknowledgment of Indigenous rights.[61] Even more recently, the protests by the Wet'suwet'en have spurred blockades and solidarity protests nation-wide, garnering support from Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors. These diverse forms of activations are mirrored in the diverse types of resistance, which form a "coalition of environmental groups, Indigenous nations, and the city of Vancouver."[62] This feature of the pipeline dispute is especially significant when examining the trajectory of Indigenous mobilization. No longer are Indigenous nations isolated in their resistance, rather, their side – of the table or barricade – now includes other political forces, environmentalist groups, and everyday citizens that together are "fighting back against resource projects."[63]

Conclusion

Examinations of the present-day circumstances involving Indigenous groups and the Canadian government are superficial without the historical context of such relationships. Accounting for colonization, mass immigration, and significant economic, ecological, and political shifts beginning in the eighteenth-century is integral to understanding the perpetuated disjuncture between Indigenous peoples and the state. These historical events impacted each Indigenous nation differently, especially as each nation approached such events with individual traditions, modes of self-governance, and means for survival. Naturally, different responses emerged, resulting in forms of political activation that, though undeniable, do not necessarily translate directly into votes. In moving away from voting and broadening the scope of inquiry to include alternate and diverse expressions of political activation, the constitution of Indigenous nations as distinct regions becomes apparent. Indigenous nations resolutely classify as regions, with regions defined as specific geographical locations that both instill a psychological attachment and carry the definite capacity to become politically activated. The First Ministers' Conferences on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters, the Oka Crisis, and the current pipeline battles in British Columbia serve as three examples of the different manifestations political activation takes in this context, yet nevertheless, each centre on the foundational imperative of Indigenous nations to defend and advocate for their regional interests concerning territory and their right to govern it.

Notes

1. Gina Starblanket, "The Numbered Treaties and the Politics of Incoherency," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 3 (2019): 455.
2. Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, "Criminal Empire: The Making of the Savage in a Lawless Land," *Theory and Event* 19, no. 4 (2016).
3. James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013), 186.
4. *Ibid,* 41.
5 J.W. Daschuk, Paul Hackett, and Scott MacNeil "Treaties and Tuberculosis: First Nations People in late 19th Century Canada, a Political and Economic Transformation," CBHM/BCHM 23, no. 2 (2006): 325.
6. *Ibid,* 322.
7. *Ibid,* 308.
8. Starblanket "The Numbered Treaties," 444.
9. *Ibid,* 444, 449.
10. Stark, "Criminal Empire."
11. Nisga'a Final Agreement Act, Statutes of British Columbia, Canada, Government of British Columbia, 1999.
12. Christopher Cochrane and Andrea Perrella, "Regions, Regionalism and Regional Difference in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45, no. 4 (2012): 829-853.
13. David J. Elkins and Richard Simeon, *Small Worlds: Provinces and Parties in Canadian Political Life* (Toronto: Methuan Publications, 1980).
14. Ailsa Henderson, "Why Regions Matter: Sub-state Politics in Comparative Perspectives," *Regional and Federal Studies* 20, no. 4-5 (2010): 439-445.
15. Elkins and Simeon, *Small Worlds*, xi.
16. Cochrane and Perrella, "Regions, Regionalism and Regional Differences," 829-830.
17. Henderson, "Why Regions Matter," 441.
18. Keira L. Ladner and Michael McCrossan, "The Electoral Participation of Aboriginal People," *Working Paper Series on Electoral Participation and Outreach Practices* (2007): 7.
19. Emma Lee, and Robyn Eversole. "Rethinking the regions: Indigenous peoples and regional development," *Regional Studies* 53, no. 11 (2019): 1511.
20. Allison Harell, Dimitrios Panagos J. Scott Matthews, "Explaining Aboriginal Turnout in Federal Elections: Evidence from Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba," *Aboriginal Policy Research Consortium International* 37 (2010): 10-11, 21.
21. *Ibid,* 5.
22. *Ibid,* 6.
23. *Ibid,* 14; 5.
24. *Ibid,* 6.
25. Lesley A. Jacobs, "Mapping the Legal Consciousness of First Nations Voters: Understanding Voting Rights Mobilization", *2009 Aboriginal Policy Research Conference* (2009): 8.
26. Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 175.
27. Harell et al, "Explaining Aboriginal Turnout."
28. Patrick Fournier and Peter John Loewen, Aboriginal Electoral Participation in Canada, *Elections Canada* (2011).
29. Ladner and McCrossan, *The Electoral Participation of Aboriginal People*.
30. "Dancing Around the Table, Part Two," Directed by Maurice Bulbulian (1987, National Film Board), film.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. Stark, "Criminal Empire."
34. Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*.

35. P.W. Lackenbauer, "A Bridge Too Far? The Oka Crisis," in *Blockades or Breakthroughs? Aboriginal Peoples Confront the Canadian State*, ed. P.W. Lackenbauer and Y.D. Belanger (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 166, 167.
36. *The Oka Legacy,* directed by Sonia Bonspille-Boileau (Rezolutions Pictures Inc. and CBC, 2015).
37. Lackenbauer, "A Bridge Too Far," 201.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *The Oka Legacy*.
40. Keira L Ladner and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *This is an Honour Song: Twenty Years since the Blockades* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2010).
41. Lackenbauer, "A Bridge Too Far."
42. Harry Swain, *Oka: A Political Crisis and its Legacy* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2010).
43. Lackenbauer, "A Bridge Too Far," 201.
44. *The Oka Legacy.*
45. Lackenbauer, "A Bridge Too Far," 201.
46. *Ibid,* 204.
47. Emma Lee and Robyn Eversole, "Rethinking the regions: Indigenous peoples and regional development," *Regional Studies* 53, no. 11 (2019): 1512.
48. Lackenbauer, "A Bridge Too Far," 204.
49. *Ibid,* 206.
50. David A Rossiter, "The Nature of a Blockade: Environmental Politics and the Haida Action of Lyell Island, British Columbia," In *Blockades or Breakthroughs? Aboriginal Peoples Confront the Canadian State,* eds. P.W. Lackenbauer and Y.D. Belanger (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 73.
51. Martin Lukacs, "The indigenous land rights ruling that could transform Canada," *The Guardian*, Oct. 21, 2014, https://www.theguardian.com/environment/true-north/2014/oct/21/the-indigenous-land-rights-ruling-that-could-transform-canada.
52. O.W. MacLaren, M. Barry, K. Sangster, "Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia." *Survey Review* 43, no. 320, (2011): 136.
53. Lukacs, "The indigenous land rights ruling."
54. Amy Smart, "B.C. won't use court ruling as tactic in pipeline battle: environment minister." *National Post* (Toronto, ON) Sept. 17, 2019, https://nationalpost.com/pmn/news-pmn/canada-news-pmn/
court-allows-appeal-on-pipeline-certificate-says-b-c-needs-to-reconsider.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Laura Kane, "Court allows six Trans Mountain pipeline appeals focusing on Indigenous consultation," *The Vancouver Sun* (Vancouver, BC) Sept. 4, 2019, https://vancouversun.com/business/energy/federal-court-allows-six-of-12-trans-mountain-pipeline-project-appeals.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Dancing Around the Table, Part Two.*
59. Brent Richter, "Tsleil-Waututh Nation aims to fight Trans Mountain in Supreme Court," *North Shore News* (Vancouver, BC) Nov. 5, 2019, https://www.nsnews.com/news/tsleil-waututh-nationaims-to-fight-trans-mountain-in-supreme-court-1.23998858.
60. Leyland Cecco, "Pipeline battle puts focus on Canada's disputed right to use indigenous land," *The Guardian*, Jan. 11, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/11/canadapipeline-indigenous-trudeau-treaty.
61. Kenneth Coates, *#Idlenomore and the Remaking of Canada* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2015), 152.
62. Kane, "Court allows six Trans Mountain pipeline appeals."
63. Cecco, "Pipeline battle."